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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

VOLUME XXXV, SECTION C, No. 9

H. J. LAWLOR AND R. I. BEST

THE ANCIENT LIST OF THE COARBS OF
PATRICK



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PROCEEDINGS

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ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

In the year 1902 it was resolved to number in consecutive order the Volumes of the PROCEEDINGS of the Academy, and consequently attention is requested to the following Table:—

CONSECUTIVE SERIES.		ORIGINAL NUMERATION.	
VOLUME	I. (1836-1840) is	VOLUME	I. 1st Ser. Sci., Pol. Lit. & Antiqq.
"	II. (1840-1844) "	"	II. " "
"	III. (1845-1847) "	"	III. " "
"	IV. (1847-1850) "	"	IV. " "
"	V. (1850-1853) "	"	V. " "
"	VI. (1853-1857) "	"	VI. " "
"	VII. (1857-1861) "	"	VII. " "
"	VIII. (1861-1864) "	"	VIII. " "
"	IX. (1864-1866) "	"	IX. " "
"	X. (1866-1869) "	"	X. " "
"	XI. (1870-1874) "	"	I. 2nd Ser. Science.
"	XII. (1875-1877) "	"	II. " "
"	XIII. (1888) "	"	III. " "
"	XIV. (1884-1888) "	"	IV. " "
"	XV. (1870-1879) "	"	I. " Pol. Lit. & Antiqq.
"	XVI. (1879-1888) "	"	II. " "
"	XVII. (1888-1891) "	"	I. 3rd Ser. Sci., Pol. Lit. & Antiqq.
"	XVIII. (1891-1893) "	"	II. " "
"	XIX. (1893-1896) "	"	III. " "
"	XX. (1896-1898) "	"	IV. " "
"	XXI. (1898-1900) "	"	V. " "
"	XXII. (1900-1902) "	"	VI. " "
"	XXIII. (1901) "	"	VII. " "
"	XXIV. (1902-1904):—		

Section A. Mathematical, Astronomical, and Physical Science.

" B. Biological, Geological, and Chemical Science.

" C. Archaeology, Linguistic, and Literature.

" XXV. (1904-5)	} In three Sections like Vol. XXIV.
" XXVI. (1906-7)	
" XXVII. (1908-9)	
" XXVIII. (1909-10)	
" XXIX. (1910-11)	
" XXX. (1912-13)	} In three Sections as above.
" XXXI. (Clare Island Survey, 1911-15.)	
" XXXII. (1913-15)	
" XXXIII. (1916-17)	
" XXXIV. (1918-19)	
" XXXV. (Current Volume).	

[obliterated and John] Ellys, proctors of St. Werburgh's and the parishioners demise to David Roche, Dublin, a house lying in length from Skynner Row to a lane leading to St. Nicholas' Church in the south; and in breadth from All Hallows' ground [torn] west side; also a garden in Castell Street [torn] in the south to Cow Lane leading to Cork Hill in the north; and in breadth lying from James [torn] to St. Mary's Abbey ground in the east; for 41 years. Rent [torn]. (*In dorso*) The Indentures of the houses in the South Row. [Seal.]

No. 160. Deed, 1 April, 1662, Enoch Reader, Dublin, merchant, and Henry Hickes, Lazy Hill, cooper, churchwardens of St. Werburgh's, to Sir William Dixon, Dublin, Knt. (recites lease, 28 February, 1604, John Lany, Dublin, cutler, and Nicholas Howard, formerly churchwardens, to Captain William Meares, of a house and garden in Skinners' Row, in length from the Row on the north to the Curriers' Lane leading to St. Nicholas' Church, on the south, and from All Hallows' ground on the east to Caddell's ground on the west. To hold for 75 years, at a rent of 19s. 8d.) The interest of Meares came to Sir Robert Dixon, and is now vested in Sir Wm. Dixon, his exor., who hereby surrenders the residue of 18 years unexpired, in consideration of 70*l.*, to be expended on raising an additional building to the parish church, for enlarging it. He is now granted to the end of the term and 71 years, at a rent of 20s.



IX.

THE ANCIENT LIST OF THE COARBS OF PATRICK.

By REV. H. J. LAWLOB, D.D., Litt.D.,

AND

R. I. BEST.

[Read MAY 26. Published DECEMBER 23, 1919.]

MORE than half a century ago Dr. Todd published four early lists of the Coarbs of Patrick.¹ They are preserved in the following manuscripts:—

L. The Book of Leinster (T.C.D., MS. H. 2. 18), f. 21. c. 1160.²

It is unfortunate that in his edition of this list Dr. Todd did not print the Irish text, but contented himself with giving an English translation of it. Part of the leaf of the MS. which contains it is now sadly discoloured. The transcriber of the Facsimile edition (1880) made some serious mistakes, and failed to read words which he might have been able to decipher if he had made use of Todd's rendering. The list was printed by Dr. Whitley Stokes in 1887;³ but he followed the Facsimile, correcting it here and there from Todd, but apparently making no use of the manuscript. In these circumstances it has been thought well to print as an appendix to this paper a fresh edition based on a careful examination of the manuscript.

Y. The Yellow Book of Lecan (T.C.D., MS. H. 2. 16), p. 327c. End of fourteenth century.⁴

B. Leabhar Breacc (Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23 P. 16), p. 220. End of fourteenth century.⁵

O. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Laud 610, f. 115rb, vc. 1454.⁶

The O list has been accurately printed by K. Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vol. ix, pp. 478f, 481f. It was transcribed from the *Saltair Caisil*.⁷ In the manuscript it is divided into two parts. The first

¹ J. H. Todd, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, 1864, pp. 174, 177, 179, 180.

² Todd, *War of the Ghaedhil with the Gaill*, p. ix; R. Atkinson, *Facsimile of Book of Leinster*, Int., p. 7.

³ *Tripartite Life of Patrick* (R.S.) ii, 542.

⁴ See Facsimile edition, Int., p. 2.

⁵ Facsimile edition, Int., p. xix.

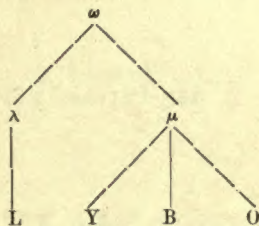
⁶ Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus*, 1905, p. xv.

⁷ Stokes, l.c.; O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. xxxiii.

part (nos. 1–24) is in the second column of f. 115r, on which page the first column gives a list of kings of Ireland, and the third a list of kings of Cashel. It has no title. The second part (nos. 25–51) is on f. 115v, and is entitled *Do Chomarbaib Pátraic*.

These four lists are almost identical in scheme. The names of the coarbs are arranged in what purports to be chronological order. To each name, with some exceptions, due no doubt to accidental omission, is added a number, with or without the word *annis* or its Irish equivalent, indicating the period of office of the coarb. There are also occasional notes giving genealogical or historical information. An examination of the lists, in fact, convinces us that they are merely recensions of an earlier catalogue, which have been brought up to date, in at least three instances, by the addition of names at the end. We may therefore treat LYBO as copies of the same document, and endeavour, by combining them, to restore the Ancient List of the Coarbs of Patrick at Armagh.

From this resultant list, set out below, it will appear that on several occasions L stands alone against the unanimous consent of YBO.¹ This suggests that the latter group is derived from an ancestor independent of the exemplar of L. The relation between the manuscripts may therefore be represented thus, omitting intermediate links:—



We shall also observe that the notes in YBO are fewer than those in L, and that they are not often in full agreement with each other, nor with the notes in L. Since the L notes appear, at least in some instances, to have come from the original list,² this phenomenon is best explained by the hypothesis that in the ancestor of YBO the notes were omitted. It will follow that the notes in those manuscripts, when they differ from L, are of later date, and of less authority, than the notes in L.

In the following list the numeral indicating the period of office is always placed opposite the name to which it belongs, the word *annis* or *bliadhna* being always omitted. In the MSS. the numbers are in various positions, sometimes above the line of writing. The variants of the MSS. are recorded

¹ See nos. 20, 26–29, 31–34, 41, 42.

² See below, p. 353f.

in foot-notes, but no notice is taken of slight differences in the spelling of names. The names are numbered with arabic figures to facilitate reference. In the notes from the Annals Ard Macha is often indicated by the letter A.¹

Notes from the Annals.	COMARBADA PÁTRAIC. ²	Translation of Notes.
433. Patricius peruenit ad Hiberniam. AU.	1. Pátraic xu. ³ luiii. o thuidecht Pat- raic i nHerinn co eis- techt L.	luiii (years) from the coming of Patrick into Ireland to his death.
445. Ard Macha fundata est. AU.	cxv. mo etatis sue quieuit B.	
462. Hic alii quietem Patrici dicunt. AU.		
489. Uel quod hic debet inseri Secundus cum sociis secundum alium librum. AU.	2. Sechnall xiii. ⁴ mac Restituit L.	Son of Restitutus.
440. Secundus, Auxilius et Serninus mittuntur et epis- copi ipsi in Hiberniam in auxilium Patricii. AU.		
448. Quies Secundini. AU.		
458. Quies senis Patricii ut alii libri dicunt. AU.	3. Sen-Pátraic ⁵ x. ⁶	
Aug. 24. 'dear fosterer of our sage,' Oengus.		
468. Quies Benigni epis- copi (+ successoris Patricii ms. B). AU.	4. Benén x. ⁷ mac Seschen LB. salmcetlaid Patraic do Chianachta Glinde Gaimen dó sil Taidg meic Cein ó Chaisil dó B.	Son of Seschen. Psalm singer of Patrick; of the Chian- achta of Glenn Gai- men, of the race of Tadg, son of Cian, from Cashel was he.

¹ AU = Annals of Ulster. AT = Annals of Tigernach. AI = Annals of Inisfallen. AFM = Annals of Four Masters. CS = Chronicon Scotorum. *Frag. Ann.* = *Three Fragments of Annals of Ireland*, ed. J. O'Donovan (Ir. Arch. and Celt. Soc.), 1860. Gorman = *Martyrology of Gorman*, ed. Stokes. Oengus = *Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Stokes, 1905. The dates are corrected in all cases.

² Do Chomarbaib Pátraic (+ in so B) BO; om. Y. In O the heading is placed before no. 25.

³ Y only.

⁴ ui O.

⁵ om. B.

⁶ ii L.

⁷ om. B.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

482. Quies Iarlathi mic
Trena tertii episcopi Ard
Machai. AU.

'Iarlaithe [of Tuam], son
of Lug, son of Trén.'
Stokes, *Lives of Saints from
Book of Lismore*, p. 251.

5. Iarlaithe xliii.¹

mac Trena o Chluain
Fiacla L.
mac Loga B.

Son of Trén from
Clonfeacle.

Son of Lug.

492. Dicunt Scoti hic
Patricium archiepiscopum
defunctum. AU.

6. Pátraic² liii.

493. Patricius archiapos-
tolus Scotorum quieuit c^{mo}xx^o
ann^o etatis sue, 16 Kal.
Aprilis, lx^o autem quo uenit
ad Hiberniam ann^o ad bap-
tizandos Scotos. AU.

497. Cormacci episcopi
Ard Macha heredis Patricii
quies (+ episcop Cormac Crici
innd Ernaidhe. ms. A marg.).
AU.

7. Cormac xu³.

primus abbas de
Chlaind Chernaig L.

First abbot. Of the
Clann Chernaig.

518. Dubthach (from
Druim Dearbh, not in ms.
B), bishop of A., obiit. AU.
Abbot of A. CS.

8. Dubthach xui.⁴

526. Ailill, bishop of A.
quieuit (+ of the Ui Bressail
ms. A marg.). AU.

9. Ailill⁵ primus⁶ xlii.

536. Ailill, bishop of A.
obiit. AU.
Abbot of A. AT.

10. Ailill⁵ secundus⁶ x.

ó Druim Chád i
nHúib Bressail don da
Ailill L.

From Druim Chád
in Húi Bressail were
both the Ailills.

543. Dubtach or Duach,
of the race of Colla Uais,
abbot of A., quieuit. AU.

11. Duach⁵ xlii⁷.

de Huib Turtri L.

Of the Húi Turtri.

¹ xliii O.² Y only.³ xii L.⁴ xlii L, xliii Y, xliiii B.⁵ These three names are omitted in B, obviously by homoeoteleuton.⁶ L only.⁷ L only.

Notes from the Annals.	COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.	Translation of Notes.
551. Quies Daudis Farannaini (+ filii Guaire descendant of Faranan, ms. A) episcopi A. et legati totius Hibernie. (<i>The entry is omitted in ms. B.</i>) AU.	12. Fiachra x. ¹ mac Colmain meic Eogain a hEnuch Senmáil L.	Son of Colmán, son of Eogan, from Enach Senmáil.
578. Feidilmidh Finn abbot of A. quieuit. AU.	13. Feidilmid ² xx. ³ hua Faelain o Domnuch Nemand L.	Descendant of Faelán from Domnach Nemand.
588. Quies of Carlaen bishop of A. (+ Ciarlaech from the territory of the Ui Niallain, ms. A marg.). AU.	14. Cairellán ⁴ x. ⁵ o Domnuch meic hu Garba dÚib Níalláin L.	From Domnach maccu Garba in Ui Nialláin [bar. of Oneilland W., Co. Armagh.]
598. Eocho abbot of A. quieuit. AU.	15. Eochaid x. ⁶ mac Diarmata o Domnuch Rigdruing L.	Son of Diarmait from Domnach Rigdruing.
610. Senach (from Cluain u Aingrighi <i>not in ms. B</i>) abbot of A. quieuit. AU.	16. Senach xlii. ⁷ Garb o Chluain hui meic Gricci de Uib Niallain, edón gobai i ngraid o Chill Móir L.	The rough, from Cluain húi meice Gricci of the Ui Nialláin, i.e. the smith in orders from Kilmore [Kilmore in bar. of Oneilland W., Co. Armagh ?].
629. Quies mic Lasre abbatís A. AU. 12 September. Gorman.	17. Mac Laisre xliii. ⁸	
661. Tommene (+ son of Ronan ms. A <i>gloss</i>) bishop of A [died.] AU. 10 January. Gorman.	18. Tómine xxxu. ⁹	
688. Quies Segeni, from Achadh Claidib, episcopi A. AU. 24 May. Gorman.	19. Segine xxvii. ¹⁰ mac Bresail ó Achud Chlaidib L.	Son of Bresal from Achad Chlaidib.

¹ *om.* YO, xx (from no. 13) B.² *om.* B. That the name was in the exemplar of B is shown by the fact that the terminal number remains: see note 1.³ xu L.⁴ Caurlan L, Caerlan O.⁵ iiii L.⁶ iii L, xu Y, *om.* O.⁷ xlii L, xu B, *om.* O.⁸ xliii L, *om.* O.⁹ lxxxiii L, *om.* O.¹⁰ xxvi B, *om.* O.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

20. Forannán¹ i.

715. Flann Febla (+ son of Scannlan, of the Ui Meith, ms. A marg.), abbot (bishop, ms. A marg.) of A. [died.] AU.

21. Flann Febla xxiii.²
mac Scanlain hua
Fingin L.
mac Scannaill edón
dalta Berchain meic
Micain B.

Son of Scannlan,
grandson of Fingen.
Son of Scannall i.e.
fosterling of Berchán,
son of Micán.

790. Suibne nepos Mruichesaiach (+ alias son of Crunnmail, ms. A) episcopus A. [dormiuit.] AU.
21 June. Gorman.

22. Suibne xu.
mac Crunnmael meic
Ronain dUib Niallain L.
in sui B.

Son of Crundmael,
son of Rónán of Ui
Niallái.
The sage.

750. Quies of Congus bishop of A. AU.
He was of the race of Ainmire. AFM.

23. Congus xx.
scribnid. unde torad
penne Congusa edón
hui Da sluaiga (*sup. lin.*
edón mensa)³ meic Ain-
merech a Cuil Athgoirt
L.

Scribe; whence 'the
fruit of Congus's pen,'
i.e. descendant of Dá
Slúaig (i.e. mensa) son
of Ainmere from Cul
Athgurt.

758. Céle Petair (+ from Crich Bresail, ms. A) abbot of A. [died.] AU.

24. Céle Petair uiiii.⁴
o Druim Chetna i
nHuib Bresail L.

From Druim Chétna
in Húi Bresail [in bar.
of Oneilland E., Co.
Armagh.]

768. Fer dá Crich, son of Suibhne, abbot of A. quieuit. AU.

25. Fer dá Chrich x.⁵

He was a son of Suibhne, son of Ronan, son of Crunnmael. AFM.

791. Cú Dinaise, son of Conasach, abbot of A. [died.] AU.

26. Cú Dínise⁶ iiii.
mac Concais hui Cath-
bath meic Echach L.

Son of Concas,
descendant of Cath-
bath, son of Eochaid.

783. Promulgation of Cáin Pátraice in Cruachu by Dubh dá Lethe and by Tipraite, son of Tadhg. AU.

27. Dub dá Lethe⁶ xuiii.⁷
mac Sinaig L.

Son of Sinach.

¹ L only.

² xxiii Y.

³ See below, p. 360, note 3.

⁴ ui Y.

⁵ om. Y.

⁶ The order of the names in YBO is Foendelach, Dub dá Lethe, Airechtach, Cú Dínisc.

⁷ xu O.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

798. Dubh dá Lethe, son of Sinach, abbot of A. [died.] AU.

794. Airectach hua Faelain (o Fhleadhaigh, ms. B), abbot of A. and Affiath episcopus of A. in pace dormierunt in una nocte. AU.

798. Profanation of Faendelach by **Gormghal**, son of Dindanach; and the preying and spoiling of A. and the killing of a man there by the Ui Cremthainn. Receptio Foindelaigh iterum in A. AU.

795. Foendelach, son of Meanach, abbot of A. subita morte periit. AU.

Foendelach died, after Dubh da Lethe had been in contention with him about the abbacy first, and after him **Gormghal**. AFM.

799. Lex Patricii over Connaught by **Gormgal**, son of Dindatach. AU.

804. Congressio senatorum nepotum Neill cui dux erat Condmach, abbas of A. in Dun Cuair. AU.

806. **Gormgal**, son of Dindagad, abbot of A., and Cluain auis obiit. AU.

807. Condmach, son of Dub dá Lethe, abbot of A. subita morte periit. AU.

28. Airechtach¹ i.

hua Faeláin dUib Bresail L.

Descendant of Faelán of Ui Bresail:

29. Foendelach¹ iii.²

mac Moenaig Man-nacta is e docer la Dub da Lethi oc Rus Bodba unde dicitur:

Faendelach aness.

is é a less. teclaim sluag Dub da Lethi mac Sinaig do fail co rigaib a tuáid L.

Son of Moenach Mannachta. It is he who fell by Dub dá Lethi at Ros Bodba; whence it is said, Faendelach from the South

His advantage is in the mustering of a host

Dub dá Lethe, son of Sinach

Is at hand with kings from the North.

30. Connmach xiiii [or xiii].³

mac Duib da Lethi is e sin in mac i ndiaid a athar ut prophetauit Bec mac De. L.

Son of Dub dá Lethe. That is the son after his father, as Bec mac Dé prophesied.

¹ See note 6, p. 321.

² x Y, u B.

³ xiiii O, xui Y, xiii LB.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

758. Gorman, coarb of Mochta of Louth, *i.e.* father of Torbach, coarb of Patrick. It is he that lived for a year on the water of Fingen's well in Clonmacnois, and died in pilgrimage at Cluain. AT.

808. Obitus Torbaigh (Caluaich, ms. B; + alias Calbhaich from Cluain cracha, ms. A, *gloss*) scribae abbatis of A. AU.

Torbach, son of Gorman, scribe, lector and abbot of A. He was of Cinel Torbaigh, *i.e.* the Ui Ceallaigh Breagh; and of these was Conn-na mbocht. AFM.

Ferdomnach hunc liberum [. . .]e dictante Torbach herede Patricii scripsit *Liber Armach.*, f. 53 v.

809. Dormitatio Toietich (Taichligh, ms. B; + alias Taichligh from Tir Imchlaire, ms. A), abbatis A. AU.

[32. Toichtech i.]¹

Toitheach ua Tighearnaigh, of Tir Imchlaire, abbot of A, died. AFM.

811. Nuadha abbas A. migravit to Connaught cum lege Patricii et cum armario eius. AU.

33. Nuada¹ iii.

812. Nuadha of Loch Uamha episcopus et anchorita, abbas A. dormiuit. AU.

818. Artri airchinnech (*om.* AFM; princeps, CS) of A., went to Connaught with the shrine of Patrick. AU, AFM, CS.

¹ L omits Torbach, Nuada, and Mac Loingsig, doubtless by homoeoteleuton (conbmach: loimgrich).

² LYBO *om.*

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

823. *Lex Patricii* over Munster by Feidhlimidh, son of Crimthan and by Artri, son of Concobhar (+ i.e. bishop of A., ms. A.) AU.

825. *Lex Patricii* over the three divisions of Connaught by Artri. AU.

826. MacLoingsigh abbas A. in pace obiit. AU.

Flannghus macLoingsigh. AFM.

Fergus mac Loingsigh. CS.

826. Profanation of Eoghan Mainistreach as to the primacy (*priomhaidecht*) of A.; for Cumasgach, son of Cathal, lord of Airghialla, forcibly drove him from it, and set up Airtri, son of Concobhar, half-brother of Cumasgach by the mother, in his place. Eoghan possessed the *ard comarbus* of Patrick for nine years afterwards through the power of Niall Caille. AFM.

919. *Bellum* by Gentiles at Duhblinn over Gaedhil, in which fell Niall (i.e. Glundub). AU.

890. **Suibhne**, son of Forannan (son of Fairnech, ms. A) abbas duorum mensium in A. obiit. AU.

Suibne, son of Farnech, abbot of Daimhinis, quieuit in A. CS.

881. Profanation of Eogan

34. Mac Loingsig¹ xliiii.²

35. Artri ii.

Is é rachoid martra ó Eogan ⁊ ó Niall ⁊ ó Suibni mac Sarnig (*l.* Farnig) L.

36. Eogan Manistrech uiiii.

Eogan mac Anbthig comarba Patraic ⁊ Finniain ⁊ Buite anmchara Neill Glunduib L.

It is he who underwent martyrdom from Eogan and Niall and Suibne, son of Farnig.

Eogan, son of Anbthech coarb of Patrick and Finnian [i.e. of Clonard] and Buite [i.e. of Monasterboice], confessor of Niall Glundub.

mac (*l.* comarba) Buti (*sup. lin.* meic) Bronaig B.

Coarb of Buite (son of) Bronach.

Trí airchinnig sunna ragabsat abdaine ar ecin nach armiter in-offriund edón Fland Rói mac Cummascaig. meic Con-

Three erenachs here who took the abbacy by force, who are not mentioned at mass, i.e. Fland Rói, son of

¹ See note (1) last page.

² xliii Y, xliii B.

Notes from the Annals.

Mainistrech, abbot of A., by Conchobar, son of Donnchad, when his community were made prisoners and his herds were carried off. AU.

833. Artri, son of Conchobar, abbas A., et Conchobar, son of Donnchad, rex of Temhair, uno mense mortui sunt. AU.

834. Eogan Mainistrech, abbot of A., and Cluain Iraird [died]. AU.

835. A change of abbots in A., i.e. Forinnán (+ from Rath-mic-Malais, *gloss*) in the place of Dermot húa Tighernain. AU.

836. The taking of the oratory in Cill-dara against Forinnán, abbot of A., with Patrick's congregation besides, by Fedhlimidh, by battle and arms; and they were taken prisoners. . . . Dermait went to Connaught cum lege et vexillis Patricii. AU.

839. A change of abbots, i.e. Dermait hua Tigernaigh in the place of Forinnán. AU.

845. Forinnán, abbot of A., was taken prisoner by Gentiles in Cluain comarda with his reliquaries and his community, and carried off by the ships of Limerick. AU.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIG.

chobair ro éigassincharpat. et Gormgal mac Indnotaig L.

37. **Forannán xuiii** [*or xuii.*]¹
mac Murgili Murgel
nomen matris eius L.

38. **Dermait liii.**²

hua Tigernain. Is leis daratad in t-anart etir na gae ac Croiss Ardachaid ⁊ in t-imaire lossa ⁊ nir rathecha coró lobsat ar met a smachta L.

Translation of Notes.

Cummuseach, son of Conchobar, who shouted out of the chariot, and Gormgal, son of Indnotach.

Son of Murgel; his mother's name was Murgel.

Descendant of Tigernán. It is by him the winding-sheet was placed between the spears at the Cross of Ardagh and the ridge of leeks, and they did not . . . so that they decayed owing to the greatness of its power.³

¹ xuii L, xiiii BO.

² uií Y.

³ See below, p. 361, note 12.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

846. Forinnán, abbot of A., came back from the lands of Munster. AU.

848. A change of abbots, i.e. Diarmait in uicem Forinnán. AU.

851. A royal meeting in A. between . . . and Diarmait and Fethgna, with the congregation of Patrick. AU.

852. Duo heredes Patricii, i.e. Forinnán scribe et episcopus et anchorita et Dermait sapientissimus omnium doctorum Europae quieuerunt. AU.

856. Quies Cathasaich, abbatis A. AI.

Cathasach, abbot of A., moritur. *Frag. Ann.* iii.

859. A royal assembly at Rath Aedha mic Bric . . . including Fethgna, coarb of Patrick. AU.

874. Fethgna, episcopus heres Patricii et caput religionis totius Hiberniae in pridie nonas Octobris in pace quieuit. AU.

February 12. Gorman.

877. A change of abbots, i.e. Ainmire in uicem Maelcobha. AU.

879. Maelcobho, son of Crunnmael, princeps of A., was taken prisoner by foreigners. AU.

39. Fethgna xxii.¹

edón Fíglech mac Nectain de Claind Echdach L.

i.e. of the vigils, son of Nechtan of the Clann Echdach.

40. Ainmire i.

hua Faelain. iserígí h. Niallain ⁊ sacerdoti Aird Macha. L.

Descendant of Faelán . . . kingship of húi Niallain and priesthood of Armagh (Stokes).³

41. Mael Coba² u.

mac Crundmael de muntir Cilli Moire L.

Son of Crundmael of the community of Kilmore.

¹ xxu LYB.

² The order of names in YOB is Cathassach, Mael Coba.

³ See below, p. 361, note 14.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

Ainmeri princeps ix mensium in Ard Macha dormiuit. AU.

He had been thirty years a priest before that time. AFM.

888. Cathasach, son of Robartach, princeps of A., in pace quieuit. AU.
 princeps and episcopus. CS.
 Son of Fergus. AI.²

888. Maelcobha, abbas of Ard Macha, uitam senilem finiuit. AU.

He was of the family of Cill-mor. AFM.

927. Maelbrigte, son of Tornan, coarb of Patrick and Colum Cille felici senectute quieuit. AU.
 coarb of Patrick and Colum Cille and Adamnan. AFM.

Feb. 22. He was of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall. Saerlaith, daughter of Cuilebaith, son of Baothghal, was his mother. *Mart. of Donegal*. Cp. LL. 372d 31.

936. Joseph, princeps A., episcopus et sapiens et ancorita in senectute bona quieuit (of the Clann Gairb Gaila ms. A marg.) AU.

936. Maelpatraic, son of Mael Tuile, princeps of A., in senectute quieuit. AU.

Five months in the abbacy when he died. AFM.
 a bishop. CS, AFM.

42. Cathassach iii.¹

mac Rabartaich hui Móinaich de Chlaind Shuibni. marb na aili-thre i nInis [] L.

Son of Robartach, grandson of Móenach of the Clann Suibne, died in his pilgrimage in Inis [].

43. Maelbrigti xxxix.³

mac Tornain LBO. comarba Patraic ⁊ Coluim Ghille de Chlaind Chona[ill] edón na hoentad L.

Son of Tornán, coarb of Patrick and Colum Cille of the Clann Chonail, i.e. of the union (?)

44. Joseph ix.

mac Fathaig de Chlaind []b Gaelta di Dal Riattai L.

Son of Fathach of the Clann [Gair]b Gaelta⁴ of Dal Riada.

45. Mael Pátraic i.

mac Maili Tuhi .h.(?) [] L.

Son of Mael Tuile.⁵

¹ iii Y.² See below, p. 350, note 1.³ xxix Y.⁴ See below, p. 361, note 24.⁵ See below, p. 361, note 26.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

957. Cathasach, son of Dulgen, from Druim Dorraidh, coarb of Patrick, learned bishop of the Goidhil, in Christo Ihesu pausavit. AU.

960. Muiredhach, son of Fergus, made a full visitation of Connaught. AU.

965. A change of abbots, i.e. Dubhdalethe in uicem Muiredach of Sliabh Cuilinn. AU.

966. Muiredach, son of Fergus, coarb of Patrick, [died.] AU.
nii. annis in principatu. CS.

979. Dubhdalethe, coarb of Patrick, on a visitation of Munster. AU. (*fuller account in AI s. a. 955*).

989. Dubhdalethe assumed the *comarbus* of Colum Cille with the consent of the men of Ireland and Alban. AU.

998. Muirecan from Bothdomnaigh, coarb of Patrick, on a visitation in Tir Eoghain, where he conferred the degree of king on Aedh, son of Domnall, in the presence of Patrick's congregation, and made a full visitation of the North of Ireland. AU.

998. Dubhdalethe, coarb of Patrick and Colum Cille, lxxxiii^o anno aetatis sue, i.e. on the fifth of the nones of June, uitam finiuit. AU.

46. Cathassach xx.
mac Doligen hui Eog-
[ain] L.
mac Fergusa Y.¹

Son of Doligen, descendant of Eogan(?).
Son of Fergus.

47. Muredach ix.
mac Fergusa LYB.
o Glinn Airind i Sleib
Culinn L.

Son of Fergus.
from Glenn Arind
in Slieve Gullion.

48. Dub dá Lethe xxxiii.²
mac Cellaich LYBO.
Deolaid ingen Maeli
Tuli meis Se[] o
Inis Cain Dega mathair
Duib da Lethi L.

Son of Cellach.
Deolaid, daughter
of Mael Tuile, son of
Se[] from Inis Cain
Dega [Iniskeen, bar.
of Farney, Co. Monaghan]
was the mother
of Dub dá Lethe.

49. Muirecán iii.³
mac Ciaracain ó Boith
Domnaig L.
mac Eathach Y.⁴

Son of Ciaracán of
Bodoney.
Son of Eochaid.

¹ A misplaced note: see no. 47.

³ xix Y (from no. 50).

² xxxviii Y.

⁴ Misplaced note: see no. 50.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIG.

Translation of Notes.

1001. A change of abbots, i.e. Maelduire, son of Eochaidh in uicem Muirecan. AU.

Muirecan, abbot of Ard Macha, resigns his abbot's chair, Maelduire taking the abbacy in his stead. AI.

1005. Muirecan, coarb of Patrick, lxx^o secundo anno etatis sue . . [died] in A. AU.

1011. Muiredach, son of Crichan, coarb of Colum Cille and Adamnan, a learned man, bishop and virgin, lector of Ard Macha and intended coarb of Patrick, died. AFM.

Muiredach, son of Crichan, coarb of Colum Cille and *ferleiginn* of Ard Macha in Christo [dormiuit.] AU.

1020. Maelduire, coarb of Patrick . . . in xx^o anno principatus sui on the third of the nones of June, in Christo quieuit.

Amhalgaidh in the *comarbus* of Patrick by the will of the laity and clergy. AU.

1047. Natiuitas Domnaill, son of Amalgaidh, i.e. coarb of Patrick. AU.

1049. Amalgaidh, coarb of Patrick, xxix annis transactis in principatu penitens in Christo quieuit. AU.

1049. Dubhdalethe assumed the abbacy from his lectorship in eodem die quo mortuus est Amhalghaidh. AU.

50. **Mael Muire xix.**¹
mac Eochacain L.

Son of Eochacán.

51. **Amalgaid xxix.**²

52. **Dub dá Lethe xii.**³

¹ *om.* Y (see note 3, p. 328), xiii B. Here the list in O ends. ² *om.* Y. ³ ii B, *om.* Y.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

1060. Great war in A. 53. Cummascach iii.
between Cumuscach Ua
Erodbain and Dubhdalethe,
coarb of Patrick, respecting
the abbacy. AU.

A change of abbots, i.e.
Cumusgach Ua Eradain in
the place of Dubhdalethe.
CS.

1064. Dubdalethe, son of
Mael Muire, coarb of Pat-
rick on the Kalends of Sep-
tember in bona penitentia
mortuus est.

Mael Isu, son of Amalgaidh, 54. Mael Isu xxuii.
took the abbacy. AU.

1074. Cumuscach Ua h
Eroduin, head of the poor of
Ireland, post penitentiam op-
timam in pace quieuit. AU.

1091. Mael Isu, coarb of
Patrick, on the fifteenth of
the Kalends of January in
penitentia quieuit.

Domnall, son of Amhal- 55. Domnall xliiii
gaidh, was immediately insti-
tuted into the abbacy in his
stead. AU.

1105. Domnall, coarb of
Patrick, went to Ath cliath, ...
so that he took illness there,
and he was carried in his ill-
ness to Domnach of Airthir
Emhna, ... and he was carried
to Damliac, and he died
there. And his body was
carried to A., i.e. on the 2nd
of the Ides of August. AU.

Ceallach, son of Aedh, son 56. Cellach xxliiii (?)³
of Mael Isu, was instituted in
his place in the *comarbus* of
Patrick. AU.

¹ liiii B. Here the list in B ends.

² xxuii Y; om. L.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

1106. Ceallach received the orders of *uasal* bishop. AU.

1129. Cellach sent forth his spirit in Ard Patraic of Munster on the Kalends in April. AU.

Muircertach, son of Donnall, was instituted into the *comarbus* of Patrick on the Nones of April. AU.

57. Muirchertach¹ iii.

1182. Maelmaedhog Ua Morghair sat in the coarbship of Patrick at the request of the clergy of Ireland. AFM.

1184. Muircertach died, September 17. Niall succeeded him. A change of abbots, i.e. Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair in the place of Niall. AFM.

Muircertach, coarb of Patrick, quieuit. Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair in the chair of Patrick. CS.

58. Mael Maedoc.

Hua Morgair² LY.

Descendant of Morgar (Mongar).

1186. A change of abbots, i.e. Niall in place of Maelmaedhog. Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair resigned the *comarbus* of Patrick for the love of God. AFM.

1187. A change of abbots, i.e. the *airchinnech* of Doire in place of Niall. AFM.

59. Gilla Meic Liac.

edón macind firdana L.
meic Diarmada meic
Ruaidhri Y.³

i.e. son of the poet.
Son of Diarmait,
son of Ruaidhri.

1189. Niall, son of Aedh, son of Maelisa, coarb of Patrick for a time, died after intense penance. AFM.

¹ Y only.² Hua Mongair Y.³ Here the list in Y ends.

Notes from the Annals.

COMARBADA PÁTRAIC.

Translation of Notes.

1174. Gilla Mac Liac, son of Ruaidhri, coarb of Patrick, archbishop and primate of A., died on the 6th of the Kalends of April. AU.

Grandson of Ruadhri, i.e. son of the poet (*macind [fh] ir dana*) of the Ui Birn. Gospels of Maelbrigte (*Facs. of Nat. mss. of Ireland*, i, pl. xlii).

1175. Conchobur, son of Mac Conchaille, abbot of the *reclis* of Paul and Peter and coarb of Patrick afterwards, died in Rome. AU.

60. In t-epscoep hua Mure-daig.

1180. Gilla-in-Coimdedh Ua Carain, coarb of Patrick, died. AU.

61. Gilla Chomdedh hua Carain.

1181. Tomaltach Ua Conchobair assumed the *comarbus* of Patrick. AU.

62. Tommaltach.
mac Aeda meic Tairdelbaig hui Conchobair L.

Son of Aedh, son of Toirdelbach Hua Conchobair.

1184. Mael Isu Ua Cerbaill assumed the *comarbus* of Patrick after it was laid aside by Tomaltach Ua Conchobair. AU.

1185. Amhlaim Ua Muirethaigh, bishop of A. and Cenel Feradhaigh, in Christo quieuit. And he was carried to Daire of Colum Cille, and buried at the feet of his father, i.e. the bishop Ua Cobhthaigh, octogesimo sexto etatis sue anno. Fogartach Ua Cerballain was instituted in his stead. AU.

1201. Tomaltach Ua Conchobair, coarb of Patrick, in pace quieuit. AU.

Before making a somewhat minute examination of the List it is desirable to call attention to an important note in L, appended to no. 36. It begins thus:—"Three erenachs here who took the abbacy by force, *who are not mentioned at Mass.*" This note is of liturgical interest, inasmuch as it corroborates the evidence—sufficient, no doubt, but rather scanty—for the reading of the Diptychs of the Dead at Mass in Ireland.¹ Moreover, we learn from it that at Armagh, and, as we may infer, elsewhere also, the diptychs included a list of the heads of the religious community.² The purpose of the note is obviously to explain the exclusion from the diptychs of certain names which might have been expected to occur in such a list. It asserts, in effect, that the excluded persons were abbots *de facto*, but not *de jure*. Finally, the note gives ground for believing that our List was actually based on the diptychs. That is the only hypothesis on which the note is relevant in its present position.

The writer (or the scribe of the Book of Leinster) omits one of the three names which he declares to have been absent from the Mass List; but it will be observed that the two which remain are also absent from the List of coarbs.³

A further reason for holding that the List of coarbs was copied from the diptychs may be found in O. The last coarb mentioned in that manuscript is Mael Muire (no. 50). But his name is followed, without break, by those of three other persons, who were not abbots, Mael Duin mac Aedha Bannan, Artri mac Cathail, and Tnuthgal. The first of these was a king of Iar Luachair, who died in 786; the second became king of Munster in 793; the third may have been Tnuthgal, whose son Faelgus died in 783, but of whom nothing more seems to be known. In the diptychs, as will be shown immediately, we might expect to find the names of a few lay benefactors of Armagh following those of the abbots. The appearance of these three names in O can, therefore, be understood on the supposition that the list of coarbs which it contains is to be traced back to the diptychs of the church.⁴

¹ See F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 1881, p. 105. The diptychs, it seems, were usually read after the Offertory, and were followed by the *Collectio post nomina*, but in the Stowe Missal they are in a different position. L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 1898, p. 199 ff.; G. F. Warner, *Stowe Missal*, ii, 14 f.; Warren, p. 262, note 88.

² There is no such list in the Stowe diptychs; but that is explained if the Missal was written at Tallaght, soon after the death of the founder, Mael Ruain (cp. Warner, ii, p. xxxiii).

³ Fland Rói and Gormgal. Was the third *de facto* abbot Suibne (*Suibne mac Farnig*, at end of note, being omitted by homoeoteleuton)? See no. 35, and AU, at no. 36.

⁴ Professor John MacNeill (*Zeitsch. f. Celt. Phil.* x, 92) thinks that these three names are a misplaced fragment of a list of kings of Cashel; but this seems very doubtful.

It is suggested then that, to some extent, our List, so far as the mere names are concerned, is a copy of a list in the diptychs of Armagh, which was supposed to enumerate the abbots. Is the existence of such a list supported by independent evidence? For an answer to that question we turn to Gaul, from which the practice of reciting the names of the dead was probably imported to Ireland. An obscure passage of Venantius Fortunatus¹ informs us that the names of deceased *apostolici proceres reliquique patroni* of the church of Tours, including St. Martin, were inscribed on ivory tablets, and recited at Mass. This, says Mr. Edmund Bishop, "is good evidence of the recital of individual names of the dead in Gaul (or at least of the bishops in the church of Tours) by the sixth century."² This will be granted; but it is evident that the *proceres* and *patroni* may be taken to include more than bishops. We have an even more instructive document. The diptychs of the Monastery of the Apostles at Arles, founded by St. Aurelian about 548, are preserved in the form in which they were used towards the end of the sixth century.³ The first section runs thus:—"Simulque precantes oramus etiam, Domine, pro animabus famulorum tuorum patrum atque institutorum quondam nostrorum, Aureliani, Petri, Florentini, Redempti, Constantini, Himiteri, Hilarini, Januarini, Reparati, Childeberti, Wltrogotae, uel omnium fratrum nostrorum quos de hoc loco ad te uocare dignatus es." The *patres* and *instituteurs* of this passage are no doubt equivalent to the *proceres* and *patroni* of Venantius. Eleven persons are named under that head. The first is the founder. There follow eight ecclesiastics, of whom at least three were abbots of the monastery: Florentinus, Redemptus, and Constantinus. Of the last four we cannot speak with certainty. But two of them were prominent monks in 588: Januarinus, who in that year composed the epitaph of Florentinus, and Hilarinus, who is mentioned in the epitaph.⁴ Of the others nothing is known. But the probability is that all four were abbots. On the other hand, Petrus was certainly not an abbot, for Florentinus was the imme-

¹ *Carmen X*, vii, 31-38 (MGH, *Auctores Antiquiss.*, iv, 1, p. 240):

Hunc quoque Martinum colitis, quem, regna, patronum,
nos hunc in terris, uos memor ille polis:
Vos intra angelicas turmas canat ille sub astris,
cui uos ante homines fertis honore diem.
Nomina uestra legat patriarchis atque prophetis
cui hodie in templo diptychus edit ebur.
Reddat apostolicos proceres reliquosque patronos
quem uos hic colitis uel pia festa datis.

² R. H. Connolly, *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, p. 100.

³ Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i, c. 5, § 12 (p. 43); PL. lxxviii, 395; Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 211 f.; Warren, *op. cit.*, 106 f.

⁴ Ceillier, *Histoire Générale des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*, 1858-1863, xi, 321 f.

diate successor of Aurelian.¹ After the ecclesiastics mention is made of Childebert I, King of the Franks, and his queen, under whom the Monastery of the Apostles was founded. Thus we have in this list of *patres atque institutores* the founder, eight ecclesiastics, some, but not all, of whom were abbots of the monastery, and two lay benefactors.

If the diptychs of the church of Armagh followed some such Gallican model as this, we might expect that the names of the dead in them would fall under the same three categories: the founder, St. Patrick; abbots and some other worthies of the local church; lay patrons. That is apparently what we do find in O, as has already been pointed out.

Now if the diptychs of the dead at Armagh was originally a catalogue of *patres atque institutores*, we can readily understand how in later ages it came to be regarded as a list of the successors of St. Patrick. At first it would have included the names of a few worthies who did not hold the office of abbot. But abbots would always have a first claim to a place in it. As in the course of centuries the list grew longer, no others would be admitted. Ultimately it would become the habit to add to it each abbot immediately after his death, and so its original purpose would be forgotten. It would then be looked on as an authentic catalogue of the coarbs.

Confirmation of this suggestion may be found in a well-known hymn in the Antiphony of Bangor, which has the title *In memoriam Abbatum Nostrorum*. It commemorates the first fifteen "abbots" of that monastery, and was written between 680 and 691, while the last of the fifteen was still in office.² In spite of that fact, its first stanza runs—

Sancta sanctorum opera
 Patrum, fratres, fortissima,
 Benchorensi in optima
 Fundatorum ecclesia,
 Abbatum eminentia,
 Numerum, tempora, nomina,
 Sine fine fulgentia
 Audite magna merita,
 Quos conuocauit Dominus
 Caelorum regni sedibus.

The last two lines reappear at the end of each of the following stanzas except the last. The first stanza reminds us suggestively of the beginning (*patrum atque institutorum*) and end of the passage quoted above from the diptychs of

¹ *Gallia Christiana*, i (1716), 600.

² See F. E. Warren's *Antiphony of Bangor*, vol. i, p. ix f.; vol. ii, p. 33.

Arles. Of the fifteen names in the poem the obits of at least fourteen are recorded in the Annals. But between the second, Beognous (Beogna, † 606), and the fourth, Sinlanus (Sillan, † 610), we have Aedeus, who is apparently not mentioned elsewhere as an abbot of Bangor. In the Annals of Ulster s.a. 607 (*recte* 608), however, midway between the obits of Beogna and Sillan, we read "*Quies Aedach mic Daill.*" This Aedh is surely the Aedeus of the hymn. But in the Annals of Ulster he has no title, and in the Annals of Tigernach, which preserves the names of all the other persons mentioned in the hymn, he is not referred to at all. The hypothesis is not unreasonable that this memorial hymn was based on a list in the diptychs which was supposed in the last quarter of the seventh century to be a catalogue of abbots, though in fact it included one ecclesiastic who did not hold that office.

The result of an argument which will have its fitting place at a later stage of our inquiry may be anticipated here. It seems that the recitation of the names of the dead was abolished at Armagh in the first quarter of the twelfth century, at the latest; and that the original list of coarbs based on the diptychs was made about 1020. If that conclusion is correct, it follows that the final names in our list (nos. 51-63) were not derived from the diptychs.

We may assume, then, that at least the earlier part of our list was based on the diptychs of the church of Armagh. But the diptychs would have supplied the compiler with a mere list of names, arranged approximately in chronological order.¹ For the numbers indicating the periods of office, and of course for the notes, he must have had recourse to other authorities. That he actually did so will be confirmed by evidence which will present itself as we proceed.

We may now enter upon a more detailed scrutiny of the list. It may conveniently be divided into four sections, the first containing nos. 1-25, the second nos. 26-41, the third nos. 42-56, and the fourth nos. 57-63.

In the first section names, numbers and notes are, for the most part, in agreement with the Annals. It will be seen that as a rule the period assigned to a coarb is the interval between the date of his death and that of his predecessor in the list, as given in the Annals.

A few minor discrepancies, real or apparent, between our two authorities may be mentioned.

¹ In the diptychs at Constantinople in the fifth century the bishops were named in the order of succession (E. Bishop, in Conolly, l.c., p. 104). But the abbots of Armagh could not have been so arranged without repetition of names; for it often happened that an abbot had two terms of office, between which another held the abbacy.

No. 2. According to the Annals Sechnall came to Ireland in 439 or 440, and died in 448. Hence his term of office cannot have been more than eight or nine years. But the List assigns him thirteen years. We may, perhaps, assume that xiii is a scribe's error for viii. Compare the errors of L in no. 13 and B in no. 55.

No. 5. In the note B confuses Iarlaithe of Armagh with Iarlaithe of Tuam, 'mac Loga meic Dana' (Rawlinson, B 502, Facs., ed. Kuno Meyer, p. 91, f. l. 18). The text of the Lismore Lives shows traces of a similar confusion.

No. 6. Pátraic is probably an insertion of the scribe of Y. Omitting that name, the List harmonizes with the Annals. See further below.

No. 7. The Clann Chernaig is the Ui Nialláin—a tribe which gave many abbots to Armagh (Rawl., B 502, p. 146, f. l. 27). *Crích innd Ernaidhe* in AU is therefore probably an error.

No 11. The Ui Tuirtri were descended from Colla Uais (Rawl., B 502, p. 146, g). The statements of the note and of the Annals are therefore equivalent.

No. 12. The List makes the interval between the death of Duach (no. 11) and Feidilmid (no. 13) 80 years, so far agreeing with the Annals. But AU know nothing of Fiachra, and call the intervening abbot David. Colgan (*Trias*, 298) identifies David with Fiachra. But the date of David's death according to AU is 551, while the List places the death of Fiachra in 558; and the genealogies of David and Fiachra cannot be harmonized. AU stand alone in mentioning David, for AFM merely translate AU; and the entry is rendered suspect by the anachronistic statement that he was 'legate of all Ireland.' On the other hand, the Annals in Book of Leinster record the obit of 'Fiachra, abbot of Armagh,' apparently between 549 and 561 (Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii, p. 515). It seems therefore that the List is here to be preferred to AU.

No. 17. Mac Laisre's term of office is given as fourteen years: the Annals suggest thirteen. There is no necessary inconsistency, for, according to Gorman, Mac Laisre died late in the year.

No. 18. The Annals suggest that Tómine held office for 38 years: the number in the List is 35. But the reading of the latter is somewhat uncertain. The true period may be 37 years.

No. 20. Forannán is in L only, and is unknown to the Annals. Probably an addition to the original List.

No. 21. The genealogy of Flann Febla (Rawl., B 502, p. 89, e) shows that the note is consistent with AU.

No. 22. The note differs from AFM (see no. 25); but the pedigree in Rawl., B 502, p. 146, f. l. 48, supports the List.¹

¹ It may be mentioned that there is considerable confusion about Senach (no. 16). (1) On May 11 Gorman has Senach the smith, whom the gloss describes as son of Etchen from Aired Brosca on Lough Erne. The Martyrology of Donegal, as usual, copies Gorman, incorporating the gloss with the text. (2) Under Nov. 2 Gorman places Senach, glossed 'priest of Cell mór.' The Martyrology reproduces this, adding *inter alia* that

But this section of the List must now be scrutinized from a somewhat different point of view. The Annals of Ulster give a choice of three dates for the death of St. Patrick, 462, 492, and 493.¹ Professor Bury prefers the earliest of the three, 462, and he rightly claims that the note (L) under no. 1 supports his view. It states that 58 years elapsed between the coming of the saint into Ireland and his death.² Interpreting his coming into Ireland as referring to his captivity (c. 404), this gives the date of his death as c. 462.³ The date is confirmed by the period of office assigned to him in Y, fifteen years. Reckoning from the foundation of Armagh in 445, this gives 460 as the year of his death. Possibly xu is a scribe's error for xui, which would bring us to 462. Now let us turn to the Annals. The Annals of Ulster describe Sechnall (no. 2) as a bishop, but they do not call him bishop of Armagh. They give no title of office to Sen-Pátraic (no. 3). On the other hand, they describe Benén (no. 4) as "episcopus successor Patricii" and Iarlaithe (no. 5) as "tertius episcopus Ard Machai," no doubt reckoning St. Patrick as the first bishop. Thus it is clear that they do not regard Sechnall and Sen-Pátraic as coarbs of the founder. According to them,

this Senach 'may be Senach Garbh.' (3) The Martyrology of Tallaght (Book of Leinster, Facs. 362, col. 4), under Sept. 10, has 'Senach Garbh,' while Gorman (followed by the Martyrology of Donegal) has Senach, glossed 'son of Buide.' Stokes identifies this person with a Senach Garbh, abbot of Clonfert, who died in 621 (AU); no doubt rightly, as may be inferred from the gloss in Rawlinson B 512 on Feb. 21 (Oengus, ed. Stokes,² p. 79):

Finntan Corach, Senach Garbh, friendly Colmán son of Congall,
A trio of them with valorous warfare, one after the other in the abbacy.

The abbacy seems to be that of Clonfert: see glosses in Oengus (p. 77) and Gorman on Feb. 21.

These three are clearly different persons; and (3) cannot be the Senach of the List, while neither of the others is described in the Calendars as abbot of Armagh. The note in the List seems to conflate the three into one, helped perhaps by a confusion between Cluain Ferta and Cluain húi meic Gricci. The Donegal martyrologist apparently confuses (2) with (3). It should be observed that the Annals do not give the Senach of the List the epithet *Garbh*.

This is perhaps a suitable place to remind ourselves of certain characteristics of the Book of Leinster. The scribe used excellent material, and he wrote a good hand; but unfortunately he is often inaccurate in reproducing his documents. The seeming blunders in this note which we have discussed may not all be due to the scribe of the exemplar which he transcribed.

Stokes (*Gorman*, index) thinks one Senóir, son of Mael dá Lua, primate of Armagh, commemorated on April 11, was probably the Senach of the List, but gives no reason for his opinion.

¹ See nos. 1, 6.

² The same statement occurs in the Chronological Poem of Gilla Coemain, 34; but there the period runs from St. Patrick's coming as a missionary (Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii p. 537).

³ J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 383 f.

Benén was the first *comarba Pátraic*. It can hardly be questioned that they are right. Sechnall and Sen Pátraic, if we accept the dates of their obits, predeceased St. Patrick. They may have been his coadjutors, but not in any true sense his successors. The first coarb of Patrick is the first on the List who outlived him, on the supposition that he died in 462.

The notes in L and Y are therefore consistent with the Annals. But it follows that the list of names is in conflict, not only with the Annals, but with the notes. If Sechnall and Sen-Pátraic were not coarbs of Patrick, they should not have appeared in the List. How is the discrepancy to be explained? Most easily on the hypothesis, already maintained, that the List was copied from the diptychs of the dead, which was a list, not presumably of the abbots, but of the worthies of the church. In such a catalogue, coadjutors of St. Patrick would naturally be named, and in later times they would be assumed to have been his successors.¹

It must not be supposed that the List wholly abjures the later theory that St. Patrick died in 492 or 493. It is involved in the statement of Y (no. 1), that he was 120 years old at the time of his death. But, more remarkable still, it is implied in the note in L (no. 7), which calls Cormac (482-497) "first abbot." He is so described in other early documents.² And the meaning is clear. Cormac "sat in Patrick's chair" immediately after his death as his first successor. He was, in fact, the first on our List to survive St. Patrick, on the hypothesis that he died in 492 or 493.

This note is important, because it no doubt suggested to the scribe of Y the insertion of Pátraic (no. 6) immediately before Cormac. This Patrick can be no other than the Apostle of Ireland (no. 1), and the name cannot have appeared here in the original List. Why his term of office should have been thought to be four years, it is impossible to guess.

One other feature of this section may be noted before we pass on. All the persons named in the List, from Benén (no. 4) to Ailill II (no. 10), were bishops. Thus, for three-quarters of a century from St. Patrick's death the succession was an episcopal succession. But from 536 we observe a change. Ailill II was succeeded by an abbot, and henceforth abbots and bishops alternate, abbots being in the majority. Of this curious fact, several explanations may be offered. We may suppose, with Ware and many others, that all those who are styled abbots were of the episcopal order. But this is pure assumption; and it cannot be maintained in the later sections of the List.

¹ Compare the remark of Professor J. B. Bury, *English Historical Review*, vol. xvii (1902), p. 701 f.

² Annals in the Book of Leinster; Chronological Tract in *Leabhar Breacc* (Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, ii, 513, 553).

We may suppose, again, that there were really two successions—a succession of bishops, and a succession of abbots—which have been fused into one in our List. On this hypothesis we should have a succession of abbots, beginning at 578, as follows: Eochaid †598, Senach †610, Mac Laisre †623, Flann Febla †715, Céle Petair †758, Fer dá Chrích †768. For the same period the succession of bishops would be: Cairellán †588, Tómine †661, Ségíne †688, Suibne †730, Congus †750. Thus the average period of an abbot would be 32 years, and of a bishop 40 years. These figures reduce the hypothesis to an absurdity. Finally, we may assume that the bishops were abbots, but that the abbots were not bishops. In favour of this, we have the fact that Cormac (no. 7), who according to the annalists was a bishop, is called in L and elsewhere an abbot. Many other instances of like kind might be cited.¹ Abbots who were not bishops would, according to an Irish custom which certainly goes back to the sixth century,² employ bishops to perform episcopal functions on their behalf. It is not surprising that such subordinate officials are seldom mentioned in the Annals. That there were such bishops at Armagh in the eighth century is revealed by the incidental notice of the death of one of them, Affiath, in 794 (no. 28). The record of his obit is obviously due to the fact that he died on the same night as his abbot. Thus it seems that the third explanation is much more probable than either of the others. If we accept it, we may absolve the compiler of our List from the charge of combining two catalogues of quite different officials into one.

It will be evident, at any rate, that Professor Bury's opinion that St. Patrick set up in Ireland a system of diocesan episcopacy, which in the course of time broke down,³ is supported by our List. We may venture to suggest that the time at which the organization of the church at Armagh became purely monastic was about the middle of the sixth century.

During the period covered by the first section of the List, it appears that the succession was unbroken and undisputed. Each coarb held office till his death. None resigned or was deposed. There is no suggestion, either in the Annals or in the List, that there were at any time rival claimants for the chair of Patrick.

We now turn to the third section of the List, postponing for the moment our consideration of the second. It begins with the coarbs of Cathassach I

¹ See, e.g., nos. 8, 10. AFM often turn the abbots of AU into bishops. But in other documents I have noticed only one instance of this. Flann Febla is a 'súi epscop' in the *Cáin Adamnáin* (ed. K. Meyer in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1905, p. 16). But Flann Febla is also a bishop in ms. A of AU.

² Adamnan, *V. S. Columbae*, i, 36.

³ *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 180 ff, 375 ff.

in 879 (no. 42). Here we find an agreement with the Annals of Ulster as exact as in the first section. With one exception (no. 53)¹ the names are the same in both, and, with the same exception, the chronological data are in accord. But there are some notable differences between the two sections. All the persons named in the present section, except Cathassach (no. 42), Joseph (no. 44), and Mael Pátraic (no. 45), are called in the Annals coarbs of Patrick—a title not hitherto used. It is implied that all were abbots: the equivalent *princeps* being used in this section in two instances (nos. 42, 45). Only three bishops are mentioned: Joseph (no. 44), Cathassach (no. 46), and Cellach (no. 56); and we have the direct statement of St. Bernard that at least eight of the twelve who are not so styled were laymen.² We saw that during the first period there were apparently no contests between rival claimants for the abbacy, and that all the abbots died in office. We now find signs of a less peaceful state of affairs. Muiredach (no. 47) was superseded by Dub dá Lethe II a year before his death; Dub dá Lethe was opposed by a rival coarb, Muirecán (no. 49), at least five years before he died; and Muirecán himself was replaced by Mael Muire (no. 50) after a short term of office. But in all these cases the terminal numbers agree with the chronology of the Annals—the rule of the abbot being always reckoned as beginning from the death or supersession of his predecessor.

In no. 53 (Cummascach) we find the only real discrepancy between the List and the Annals of Ulster. The twenty-seven years of Mael Ísu are evidently computed from 1064, the year of the death of Dub dá Lethe III (no. 52). Cummascach is set down as the successor of Dub dá Lethe, and is said to have ruled for three years. It is, therefore, implied that Dub dá Lethe was deposed, or resigned, in 1060 or 1061. But the Annals of Ulster do not acknowledge Cummascach as coarb, and represent Dub dá Lethe as retaining office till his death. And they are supported by the Irish informants of St. Bernard, as has been shown in a paper published some time ago in the Proceedings of the Academy.³ On the other hand, the *Chronicon Scotorum*, in harmony with the List, reports "a change of abbots," Cummascach succeeding Dub dá Lethe, in 1060. It is clear that there were two parties at Armagh, one of which acknowledged Cummascach, while the other did not. If he succeeded in getting possession of the abbacy, he must have been driven out, for he lived till 1074, ten years after the accession of Mael Ísu. We shall return to him later.

In the paper just referred to it was pointed out that the period now

¹ Another apparent inconsistency arising out of the terminal numbers of nos. 41, 42 will be considered when we come to deal with the second section.

² *Vita S. Malachiae*, 19.

³ *Proceedings*, xxxv, C, p. 233 f.

under review was that in which, according to St. Bernard, the abbots, or as he calls them, metropolitans, held their office by hereditary succession.¹ He explains this statement to mean that they were all of one family. Some additional remarks on the subject may be made here.

In the first place, there can be no doubt that the family to which St. Bernard refers was a branch—probably the principal branch—of the Clann Sinaich. The genealogy of that sept is preserved.² In at least one copy it is entitled *Genealach Ua Sinaig .i. comarba Pádraig*, "Genealogy of the Uí Sinaich, i.e., the coarbs of Patrick."³ It begins with Amalgaid (no. 51), whose lineage is traced back, through Sinach, to Colla Fochrith.⁴ In the paper which has been mentioned it was shown that four abbots of Armagh (nos. 54-57) were descended from Amalgaid, and that Dub dá Lethe III (no. 52) was the son of Mael Muire (no. 50). With the help of the genealogy the argument can be carried further.⁵ From it we learn that Mael Muire was the father of Amalgaid, and that Cellach, the father of Dub dá Lethe II (no. 48), was Mael Muire's grandfather. Thus it is practically certain that the succession prevailed from 966 at the latest.

We may, perhaps, carry it further back. Muiredach (no. 47), as the List tells us, in agreement with the Annals, came from Glenarind in Slieve Gullion; and Slieve Gullion was in Airthir, the home of the Clann Sinaich.⁶ Again, a note (no. 48) states that the grandfather of Dub dá Lethe II, on his mother's side, was Mael Tuile of Iniskeen. Mael Tuile was the father of Mael Pátraic (no. 45),⁷ and Iniskeen is on the River Fane, one of the boundaries of Airthir.⁸ Mael Pátraic may therefore have belonged to the Clann Sinaich. If so, we may date the beginning of the unbroken hereditary succession as early as 936.

But as a fixed custom it cannot have been in existence before that year. The immediate predecessor of Mael Pátraic was Joseph (no. 44), whom the List and the Annals of Ulster describe as of the Clann Gairb Gaelta of Dalriada, a district in the north of the present county of Antrim. His predecessor was Mael Brigte (no. 43). What the List says of him is not now

¹ L.c., p. 235.

² In Rawlinson, B 502, p. 146, e, and elsewhere.

³ Book of Ballymote, 113 b.

⁴ Later recensions begin with Cellach (no. 56).

⁵ The pedigree runs, 'Amalgaid m. Mael Maire m. Eochada m. Cellaich m. Flannacáin m. Coemain m. Airechtaich m. Duib dá Lethi m. Sinaich,' &c.

⁶ See AU, 1059.

⁷ It is of course possible that Mael Tuile the father of Mael Pátraic was not identical with Mael Tuile the grandfather of Dub dá Lethe.

⁸ Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s.v. Airthir.

fully legible, but it seems to agree with the statement of the Martyrology of Donegal that he was of the race of Conall Gulban. His descent from that person is, in fact, well known.¹ Neither of these coarbs had any connexion with the Armagh septs. Thus there was a break in the hereditary succession at least from 888 to 936.

With these facts in mind we may call in St. Bernard as a witness. His evidence consists of two contradictory statements. We may consider first the passage in which he affirms that the same family "had already for nearly two hundred years possessed the sanctuary of God, as by hereditary right."² It is important to note that he is not here speaking in his own person. The words are put into the mouth of St. Malachy at the time when he was just about to make an effort to dislodge Muirchertach (no. 57) from the abbey, that is, in 1132. Now from 936, the earliest possible date for the establishment of the claim to hereditary succession, to 1132 is 196 years. From 966, which seems to be the latest possible date, to 1132 is 166 years. Either of these periods, but more fitly the former, could be described as "nearly two hundred years." St. Bernard's statement is therefore in accord with the result of our researches.

Elsewhere, however, he tells us that "fifteen *quasi* generations had already passed in this wickedness."³ The date from which he reckons the fifteen generations is the year of Cellach's death, within a few days of which Muirchertach was elected as his successor. He seems to use the phrase "*quasi* generation" of the period of office of a coarb.⁴ Now Mael Pátraic (no. 45), before whose accession we have learnt that hereditary succession to the coarbship was not an unvarying rule, was the first of a series of abbots of which Muirchertach was not the fifteenth but the twelfth.⁵ The two statements are therefore irreconcilable. How can we account for the contradiction? A very simple explanation is at hand. The document on which St. Bernard worked probably had the words "generationibus xii." If the saint mistook xii for xu, he fell into one of the commonest of scribes' errors, of which there are several examples in the MSS. of the List.⁶

¹ See the genealogical table in Reeves, *Adamnan*, opposite p. 342. If the concluding words of the note are correctly read *i. na hoentad*, "i.e., of the union," they may be interpreted as referring to a union between the Columban and Patrician foundations, in virtue of which they had a common abbot.

² *Vita S. Malachiae*, § 20: "Qui iam annos ferme ducentos quasi hereditate possedissent sanctuarium Dei."

³ *Ib.*, § 19: "Decursis iam in hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim."

⁴ *Proceedings*, xxxv, C, 235.

⁵ St. Bernard omits Cummascach.

⁶ A different explanation was offered in *Proceedings*, l.c., p. 236. It must now be abandoned in the light of fuller knowledge.

We now return to Cummascach. Fortunately we have his pedigree,¹ and it proves conclusively that he was not a member of the Clann Sinaich. He was a great-grandson of Erodhan, a descendant of Conchobar Corrach; and Conchobar Corrach belonged to the Ui Bresail,² a kindred but distinct sept. His contention with Dub dá Lethe was the only attempt for a century to dispute the claim of the Clann Sinaich to provide abbots for Armagh. It was clearly unsuccessful. St. Bernard may allude to the incident when he writes: "They did not suffer any to be bishops [he should have said abbots] who were not of their own tribe and family."³

Having thus cleared the ground, we may call attention to a coincidence which lends some support to our argument. It has been pointed out that the title "Coarb of St. Patrick" is characteristic of the section of the List with which we are now concerned. The first person to whom it is given is Cathassach II (no. 46). Thus its use begins at the very moment when, as we contend, the succession became fixed in the Clann Sinaich. And it is applied to every succeeding abbot, with the single exception of Cummascach, who is the only person in this section after 936 whom we have reason to believe not to have been descended from Sinaich. Is it possible that the word *comarba* at this period connoted something more than mere succession in spiritual office? We may venture to suggest that it included the conception which St. Bernard expressed by the phrase *haereditaria successio*—succession confined to one "tribe and family." No doubt it lost that significance when it was used of Mael Maedhóc and later archbishops. But Amhlaimh Ua Muiredaich (no. 60) is not called coarb of Patrick, and the title practically disappears in the early years of the twelfth century.

Now, if for two centuries the coarbs of Patrick were invariably selected, as of right, from the Clann Sinaich, we may be confident that the right was not generally acknowledged at the moment when it was first claimed. Those centuries during which all the recognized coarbs belonged to the privileged family must have been preceded by a period of struggle, in which the prerogative of the sept was asserted, and, after contest, finally admitted. The first member of the Clann Sinaich to sit in the chair of Patrick was Dub dá Lethe I, the son of Sinach, the ancestor of the sept (no. 27).⁴ We shall see later that he became abbot in 775. From 775 to 936, when the hereditary succession became a regular custom, may be supposed to have been the

¹ Rawlinson, B 502, p. 146, f.

² *Ib.* The Ui Tuirtri, Ui Echach, Ui Bresail, Ui Nialláin, Ui Sinaich, and Ui Méith were all septs of the Airghialla.

³ *Vita S. Maluchiæ*, § 19.

⁴ See the genealogy, p. 342, note 5.

period of contest; and it almost exactly coincides with the second section of the List (nos. 26–41). With the expectation that we shall find in it traces of the struggle, we proceed to examine that section.

The second section is in strong contrast to the first and third by reason of its confusion. The confusion is manifested in two directions: first, in the difficulty of fixing the text of the List, due to the contradictory evidence of our four authorities; and, secondly, in the irregularity of the succession which it reveals.

Let us consider the text first.

At the very beginning we are confronted with a conflict of evidence. In YBO *Cú Dínisc* (no. 26) follows *Airechtach* (no. 28), and *Foendelach* (no. 29) precedes *Dub dá Lethe* (no. 27). Here the *Annals* come to our assistance. *Cú Dínisc* died in 791, and *Foendelach* in 795. Thus the order of YBO is unchronological, and we are justified in following L. Moreover, we can give a plausible reason for the transposition of the names in the ancestor of the other MSS. For a note in L (no. 29) informs us that *Foendelach* was killed by *Dub dá Lethe*. Must he not, then, have preceded him in the abbacy? So the revisers of the List would argue. The *Annals* at once get rid of the chronological difficulty, and save the reputation of *Dub dá Lethe*, by writing euphemistically that *Foendelach* “perished by a sudden death.” Perhaps a better solution is to interpret *Dub dá Lethe* in the note as meaning the supporters of *Dub dá Lethe* and his family.

A little lower down (nos. 31–33) L omits three names which are found in YBO: *Torbach*, *Nuada*, and *Mac Loingsi*. Here the *Annals* support YBO. Moreover, that *Torbach* actually held the abbacy is certain. He was the *heres Patricii* at whose dictation *Ferdomnach* wrote the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the Book of Armagh.¹ And if these three abbots are omitted, the chronology is deranged; for the periods assigned to the next two abbots, of eight and two years, respectively, do not fill the gap between *Connmach* (no. 30), who died in 807, and *Eogan* (no. 36), who died in 834. But we must restore another name, which is absent from all our MSS. *Toichtech* (no. 32) is the abbot mentioned next after *Torbach* in the *Annals*. But this fact, taken alone, would not warrant his inclusion in the List. The List itself, however, as we have it, implies that a name has fallen out in this place. For *Nuada* (no. 33) is said to have been in office three years. Now, he died in 812. He must, therefore, have been elected in 809, the very year of *Toichtech*’s death, a year after the death of *Torbach* (808). The omission is accounted for by the resemblance of the names *Torbach* and *Toichtech* (or the variant *Toichlech*), written in Irish character.

¹ Proc. R.I.A., iii (1846), 316 ff; J. Gwynn, *Book of Armagh*, pp. xv, cxvi.

The mss. are at variance in another place. Mael Coba (no. 41) follows Cathassach (no. 42) in YBO, and precedes him in L. Whether the transposition was made in the archetype of L or in that of YBO is not clear, though the latter supposition seems more probable.¹ We shall find reason hereafter to think that there was an error in a MS. from which all four were derived—perhaps the original List.

We come now to the phenomena of the succession of the abbots in this second section.

Let us notice first that it is preceded by a gap in the chronology without parallel elsewhere. Dub dá Lethe I (no. 27) held the abbacy for eighteen years, and died, as the Annals tell us, in 793. Thus he was elected in 775. Setting aside Cú Dínise (no. 26), for reasons which will be given immediately, we are left with a period of seven years from the death of Fer dá Chrích (no. 25) to the accession of Dub dá Lethe, during which, so far as we know, there was no coarb of Patrick.

It is probable that this vacancy gave Dub dá Lethe his opportunity to seize the abbacy, and to claim it as the possession of his father's family. But though he seems to have held it to the end of his life, and to have been eventually succeeded by his son Commach (no. 30), we have good evidence that neither his rule nor that of Commach was altogether peaceful.

Commach is said in the List to have been abbot for fourteen years, that is evidently from the death of his father in 793 to his own death in 807. Plainly, the source from which Commach's terminal number was taken ignored Airechtach and Foendelach (nos. 28, 29). The compiler of the List, therefore, had access to a catalogue of coarbs from which these two were excluded, though (no. 36) they were mentioned in the diptychs of the church. But it is equally plain that he knew another list which recognized them. For he assigns definite periods of office to both of them. Now, the list gives Foendelach a term of three years. Since he died in 795, he must have been acknowledged by his own followers as abbot from 792. This is so far in agreement with the Annals that they state that he was driven out in 793, and reinstated shortly afterwards. Airechtach (no. 28), who was abbot for one year, died in 794. Though the Annals call him abbot under that year, it does not follow that he died in office; for it is their habit, in recording obits, to give the title of abbot, or coarb of Patrick, to men who had held the office, but had resigned or been deposed. If we suppose that Airechtach immediately preceded Foendelach, his year as coarb would be 791-2; and 791 is the year

¹ YBO have been found guilty of altering the order already. In this instance it is not easy to conceive a motive for the transposition. The chronology is not really improved by it, though Mael Coba died five years after Cathassach.

of Cú Dínisc's death. Thus it would seem that there were three rivals who in succession to one another contested the claim of Dub dá Lethe and his son Connmach—Cú Dínisc, Airechtach, and Foendelach. It is, perhaps, sufficiently obvious that none of these persons was of the Clann Sinaich. But it may be well to point out that we have definite evidence of this fact in one instance. Dub dá Lethe had a son named Airechtach,¹ and it might be suspected that he was the second of the claimants just mentioned. Fortunately, a note informs us that the Airechtach of the List was of the Ui Bresail.

Let us note in passing that here the periods of office of the three rival abbots are included in those of Dub dá Lethe and Connmach. In a later instance, which has already been considered, the procedure of the compiler of the List is different. The term of office of Cummascach (no. 53) is exclusive of that of Dub dá Lethe III (no. 52), whose right to the abbacy he challenged.

It might appear from the List that when Foendelach was murdered in 795, Connmach obtained undisputed possession, and ruled for twelve years till his death in 807. But from the Annals we learn that matters were not so easily settled. There was another candidate for the seat of St. Patrick. This was Gormgal, son of Dindatach, Dindagad, or Indnatach. The Ulster Annals seem to imply that he was of the Ui Cremthainn.² He "profaned" Foendelach in 793, and opposed Connmach after Foendelach's death, making his circuit of Connaught in 799. That he had possession of the abbacy for some time is admitted by the compiler of the List, though he does not include his name in the catalogue, because it did not appear in the diptychs (no. 36). The six persons who engaged in this struggle for the abbacy for the space of fifteen years are all recognized as abbots in the Annals of Ulster. That the battle was a fierce one is made clear by the fate of Foendelach. The note on Connmach in the List (no. 30) implies that he was the first person who succeeded his father as abbot. Apparently, the compiler overlooked the fact that Fer dá Chrích (no. 25) was the son of Suibne (no. 22). For the prediction of Bec mac Dé to which he refers, see *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, ix. 169, and O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, 1878, pp. 399, 625.

For five years after the death of Connmach the church seems to have had peace under three abbots, of opposition to whose rule we have no evidence. They were not all descendants of Sinach. The Annals of Ulster report that

¹ See the genealogy, p. 342, note 5.

² A sept in the barony of Slane, Co. Meath, according to MacCarthy (*Annals of Ulster*, Index).

Connmach "subita morte periit." If this phrase is again a euphemism, it prepares us to expect that at least his immediate successor came from a rival sept. The notes preserved in L fail us here; but we have definite evidence from other sources. The Annals state that T'orbach (no. 31) was the son of Gorman, coarb of Mochta of Louth, and "of the Cinel T'orbaigh, i.e. the Ui Cellaigh Breagh." The latter name indicates a tribe dwelling in Meath or the south of the county of Louth.¹ Again, Nuada was of Loch Uamha, now known as Lough Nahoo, in Leitrim.² Neither of them can have been of the Clann Sinaich. On the other hand, Toichtech came from T'ir Iomchlaire; and if it was near Armagh, as MacCarthy supposes,³ he may have been of that sept.

The struggle began again under the following abbot, Mac Loingsig (no. 34). He had been six years in office when, in 818, Artri, son of Conchobar (no. 35), érenach (or, as one MS. of the Ulster Annals says, bishop) of Armagh went to Connaught with the shrine of St. Patrick. He was apparently accepted there as the coarb of Patrick during the remaining part of Mac Loingsig's rule. Mac Loingsig was succeeded by Eogan Manistrech (i.e. of Monasterboice) (no. 36), who is credited with a rule of eight years, evidently reckoned from the death of Mac Loingsig (826) to his own death in 834. Immediately before him, however, Artri appears in the List, and is stated to have held office for two years. Once again the compiler has gone for his terminal numbers to different sources, one of which acknowledged Artri as abbot, while the other did not. The period of office of Artri, as before in like case, is evidently included in that of Eogan. In a note under Artri's name we are told that he "suffered martyrdom from Eogan and from Niall and from Suibne, son of Fairnech." The Annals give us more particulars. Eogan, it would seem, was elected in 826. The next year he was "profaned" by Cummascach,⁴ son of Cathal, and Artri, son of Concobhar; the latter having apparently returned from Connaught when he heard news of Mac Loingsig's death, to claim the abbacy at Armagh itself. The attempt to eject Eogan, it seems, was successful. If Artri then enjoyed his two years of rule, he was probably driven out at the end of them by Suibne (abbot of Damhinish), son of Forannán or Fairnech, who died in 830, having been abbot for two

¹ The following notice in the Annals of the Four Masters (s. a. 1056) is interesting: Mael Finnen mac Cuinne died, i.e. Maelfinnen, son of Conn, son of Joseph, son of Donnchadh, son of Dunadhach, son of Egertach, son of Luachan, son of Eoghan, son of Aedhagan, son of Torbach, son of Gorman of the Ui Ceallaigh Breagh.

² Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s. v. It will be noted that Connaught was the happy hunting-ground of several opponents of Clann Sinaich.

³ *Annals of Ulster*, index.

⁴ A king of the Airghialla, who fell in battle the same year.

months. Artri died in 833. Artri's father, Conchobar, was the son of Donnchad, King of Ireland, and was therefore not of the Clann Sinaich. Another attempt was made by Conchobar to unseat Eogan in 831. Possibly on this occasion Fland Rói (no. 36, note) was put in possession for a short time.

Fland Rói was the son of Cummascach, son of Conchobar Corrach, of the Uí Bresail, and was therefore of the same stock as Cummascach the opponent of Dub dá Lethe III, who was the sixth in descent from Aed Laigen, the third son of Conchobar Corrach.¹ The statement of the genealogist that Fland Rói "urged on the dogs out of the chariot, so that he was deposed from the coarbship of Patrick," happily illustrates the note under no. 36. Apparently a hunting coarb was regarded as unfit for his office!

In all these struggles Eogan was supported by Niall Caille, no doubt the Niall from whom Artri suffered martyrdom (no. 35), and whom the compiler of the List (or the scribe of L) confuses (no. 36) with Niall Glúndub.²

The next two abbots, Forannán and Dermait (nos. 37, 38), were in the strictest sense contemporary. The first to get possession was Dermait: but the Annals represent him to have been soon driven out by Forannán (835), though still in possession of the insignia of office (836). Four years later—in 839—they report a "change of abbots," Dermait being re-instated. But this seems to be a misplaced duplicate of a similar entry under 848; for there is no mention of a restoration of Forannán in the interval between them, and he was certainly abbot when he was taken prisoner by "Gentiles" in 845. It seems, therefore, that Forannán was in actual possession of the abbacy from 835 to 848, except the year that he was in the hands of the Norsemen, while Dermait was at least *de facto* abbot from 848 to 852. In the latter year both the claimants died. The compiler of the List, following one of his authorities, gives Forannán a period of eighteen years (834-852); following another, he gives Dermait four years (848-852). Thus, again, the term of office of one of two rival abbots is part of, and included in, the term of office of the other. Forannán can hardly have been of the Clann Sinaich; for, according to a gloss in the Ulster Annals, he came from Rath mic Malais, now known as Rackwallace, in the parish of Monaghan.³

¹ See above, p. 344; and Laud 610, f. 105, a (ed. K. Meyer, ZCP, viii, 320); Book of Ballymote, 111, a, 10; Book of Lecan, 176, b; Rawlinson, B 502, p. 146, f; Book of Leinster, p. 333 c.

² Niall Glúndub was the grandson of Niall Caille. Rawlinson, B 502, p. 145, g.

³ Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s. v.; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, iii, 535. On the other hand, Dermait's journey to Connaught raises some doubt as to his being of the Clann Sinaich. See above, p. 348, note 2.

The next abbot in the List, Fethgna (no. 39), was certainly not of that stock; he is described in the List as the son of Nechtan, of the Clann Echdach. The Annals of Inisfallen and the Fragmentary Annals mention one Cathasach, abbot of Armagh, who died in 856. Possibly he was an opponent of Fethgna, but the evidence for his existence is slender.

On the death of Fethgna (874) Mael Coba (no. 41) was elected abbot. Three years later he was ejected in favour of Ainmire (no. 40), who was "princeps" for nine months. Ainmire was then apparently dislodged, and died a year or two afterwards (879). In the List his term of office is included in that of Mael Coba. In the year of Ainmire's death Mael Coba was taken prisoner by foreigners. Thus the two claimants were removed, and Cathassach I (no. 42) seems to have immediately seized the abbacy. According to the List he ruled for four years, obviously from 879 to his death in 883. Mael Coba, however, must have returned from his captivity and been restored; for the incumbency of Mael Brigte (no. 43) is reckoned from his death.

Neither Ainmire nor Cathassach was of the Clann Sinaich. A partly obscure note in the List gives sufficient evidence that the former was of the Ui Niallain. The latter, according to the List, was a son of Robartach, who was grandson of Moenach, of Clann Suibne. He is also called son of Robartach in the Annals of Ulster; but in the Annals of Inisfallen son of Fergus.¹ Apparently there was some uncertainty about the name of his father. It is scarcely rash, therefore, to identify him with Cathassach, son of Dindotach, son of Donnchad, son of Moenach, son of Diucaill, son of Suibne, who was descended, through Erec, from Colla Uais, brother of Colla Fochrich, the ancestor of Clann Sinaich and many other septs.² There is nothing against the supposition that Mael Coba belonged to the Clann Sinaich; for the community of Kilmore, from which he came, was probably Cill-mór Enir, three miles east of Armagh.³

It has been observed already that the MSS. differ here as to the order of the names, L placing Mael Coba before, YBO after, Cathassach. On either arrangement there is a hiatus in the chronology; for the nine years divided between these two abbots do not fill the gap between the death of Fethgna (874) and that of Mael Coba in 888. It may be conjectured that in the

¹ AI mention this Cathassach twice: (1) s. a. 869 (*recte* 883), Quies Cathassaich abbatis A.; (2) s. a. 883, Quies Cathassaich, son of Fergus, abbatis A. The former entry evidently follows the authority normally used by the annalist, which at this point is fourteen years behind in its chronology; the latter comes from another document which gave the true year of the obit.

² Rawlinson. B 502, pp. 141, a, ll. 5, 35, b, l. 31, 146, c.

³ See Hogan, *Onomasticon* s. v.; *Annals of Ulster* (MacCarthy), Index.

original List, or in a copy of it which was the common ancestor of our four authorities, the terminal number was written *u*, in error for *xu*. Since Gorman puts Fethgna's death early in 874 (February 12),¹ Mael Coba's incumbency, not counting the period of Cathassach's usurpation (if such it was), might have been reckoned as fifteen years. In that case the compiler, following his usual custom, included the period of office of Cathassach within that of Mael Coba.

Mael Coba was followed by two abbots, Mael Brigitte and Joseph, who, as we saw, were not of the Clann Sinaich; and immediately afterwards began the period in which none who were not of that sept were able to get possession of the abbacy. We expected to find in the period which has now been surveyed a fierce contest, and our expectation has been amply fulfilled. Dub dá Lethe I and his son and successor, Connmach, had to face many opponents. Strife was renewed eleven years after Connmach's death, and continued, with an intermission of perhaps twenty-two years during Fethgna's incumbency, for seventy years (818-888). It is at least possible that the *casus belli* was then the same as it had been in the early years of the century—the claims of Clann Sinaich. Some of the abbots, or aspirants to the office, in those seventy years must certainly have been members of that tribe. But the Clann Sinaich, as it happens, is never mentioned, though the antecedents of a majority of the persons concerned in the disputes are given. From Torbach to Joseph there were fourteen legitimate or intruded abbots. Of five of them in the List, and of four others in the Annals,² there is evidence that they were not of the Clann Sinaich. Of one abbot, not mentioned in the List (Toichtech), we have not sufficient information to guide us to a conclusion. Of the rest—Mac Loingsig, Eogan, Dermait, and Mael Coba—we are told nothing. We may reasonably infer that they were descendants of Sinach. In a List drawn up when the succession was firmly established in one family it would be natural that the septs of persons who did not belong to it would be recorded, while silence was kept about those who did. We take it then that the contests of the ninth century were in all instances waged between the Clann Sinaich and its opponents, and that in them the clan was represented by the four persons just mentioned.

The result to which our meticulous examination of the second section of the List seems to lead may be expressed thus. The compiler took his list of names from the diptychs of the church of Armagh. But for the years of office of the several coarbs of Patrick he had recourse to two other lists

¹ But the Annals of Ulster date his death October 6.

² Two of these are omitted in L, and consequently the notes in the List are not available.

which we may designate by the letters α and β . List α was shorter than List β , and in the main included only coarbs of the family of Sinach; List β included many other names, a few of which, perhaps, were not in the diptychs. It is possible, however, that these few additional names may have been found by the compiler in a third list which he knew, but did not use. Among them were at least three erenachs who had violently seized the abbacy: Gormgal, Flann Rói, and one unnamed, probably Suibne (no. 36). We may set out these two lists, so far as we can reconstruct them, adding dates. An obelus (†) in List α indicates a coarb who was not of the Clann Sinaich.

	LIST α . ¹	LIST β .
775	Dub dá Lethe I.	Dub dá Lethe I.
787		Cú Dínisc.
791		Airechtach.
792		Foendelach.
793	Connmach.	{ Gormgal.
		{ Foendelach.
795		Connmach.
α . 798		Gormgal.
		Connmach.
807	Torbach. †	Torbach.
808	Toichtech.	Toichtech.
809	Nuada. †	Nuada.
812	Mac Loingsig.	Mac Loingsig.
818		[Artri.]
826	Eogan Manistrech.	Eogan Manistrech.
827		Artri.
830		{ [Suibne.]
		{ Eogan Manistrech.
831		[Fland Rói. ?]
834	Dermaid.	Forannán.
835	Forannán. †	
848	Dermaid.	
852	Fethgna. †	Fethgna.
874	Mael Coba.	Mael Coba.
877		Ainmire.

¹ The list of abbots of Armagh in the Annals in the Book of Leinster agrees almost exactly with List α . The only differences are the omission of Mac Loingsig and the addition of Ainmire. See Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, ii, 520-523.

LIST <i>a</i> .		LIST <i>β</i> .
878		Mael Coba.
879		Cathassach.
883		Mael Coba.
888	Mael Brigitte. †	Mael Brigitte.
927	Joseph. †	Joseph.
936	Mael Pátraic.	Mael Pátraic.

It appears that for a century and a half a determined effort was made to establish the right of the Clann Sinaich to provide abbots for Armagh, and that for nearly the whole of that time the claim was vigorously resisted. It is obvious that the hereditary succession was not maintained in the family of which Sinach was the ancestor while this struggle lasted. List *a* is much more favourable to that contention than List *β*. But even in List *a* there are six abbots who were not of Clann Sinaich. About three-quarters of the abbots in List *β* were of other septs. And it must be remembered that List *β* is, on the whole, confirmed by so reputable an authority as the Ulster annalist, and that it coincided in large measure with the authoritative list in the diptychs. It has therefore a considerable claim to be regarded as historical; while List *a* may have been framed in the time of the later abbots of the Clann Sinaich line, who would be anxious to push their prerogatives as far into the past as possible. St. Bernard asserts that the hereditary succession came into existence "by the devilish ambition of certain powerful persons."¹ We believe that the foregoing investigation justifies the strength of his language.

We are now in a position to discuss certain matters which were of necessity postponed to this point in our inquiry. The first of them concerns the notes in L. By what right do we assume that they belong to the original List? The answer to that question is to be found mainly in the note under no. 36, to which frequent reference has been already made. It is clear that it was written at a time when the recitation of the diptychs of the dead was still customary at Armagh. That implies, as we shall see in a moment, that it is not later than the first quarter of the twelfth century. But we may go further. The original writer of the note was aware that the List had its origin in the diptychs. That is to say, he was acquainted with the methods of the compiler. It is not a necessary corollary, but it is a probable one, that the annotator and the compiler were the same person. But further, though the notes in the other MSS. are scanty, they are, in a good many instances,

¹ *Vita S. Malachiae*, § 19.

similar to those of L. See nos. 4, 43, 47, 48, 50 (49); and compare nos. 5 (a false correction in B of the note in L),¹ 21. They seem, therefore, to go back to a common ancestor of LYBO. And, finally, some peculiarities of the text of YBO are most easily explained on the supposition that the editor of their common archetype had read the notes in L: see, for example, nos. 6 and 26-29.²

The second question now to be dealt with is two-fold. What is the date of the original List? and, When did the recitation of the diptychs cease at Armagh? The note on no. 36, as we have remarked, was penned while the diptychs were still in use. But it follows the name of Eogan, who died in 834, and it refers to incidents which in that year were still recent.³ Thus, the recitation of the names of the dead cannot have been discarded before 835. But if we assume that the diptychs were the basis of the List up to 835, we may carry the date further forward. For we have noted that the method of using them was such as to produce the result that the periods of office of some abbots named in the diptychs were included in those of others who appear with them in the List. That method is continued certainly up to 879 (nos. 37, 38, 40, 41), and probably to 888 (no. 42).⁴ After that year, therefore, we may place both the drawing up of the original List and the abolition of the recitation of the diptychs. In a later part of the List, where the incumbencies of Dub dá Lethe III and Cummasach are recorded (nos. 52, 53), this method is dropped, the periods of office assigned to them being exclusive of each other. Thus we may affirm that the original List was compiled before the death of Dub dá Lethe in 1064, though we cannot affirm that the reading of the diptychs at Mass had fallen into desuetude by that year. But it is certain that it did not last much more than half a century longer. For it had no place in Roman usage. It must therefore have been cast aside, if it was still in existence, when the ecclesiastical customs of Armagh were Romanized under Cellach, in 1120 or earlier.⁵ It seems, then, that the original List is to be dated between 888 and 1064, and the abolition of the recitation of the names of the dead between 888 and 1120. But the dates may be defined more closely. For the framing of the original List cannot be much later than the death of the last coarb named in the earliest form of the List now known. Now O ends with Mael Muire. This shows that the List was drawn up, at the latest, before the death of his successor, Amalgaid, in 1049. But O offers us not only a *terminus ad quem*, but a *terminus a quo*. This manuscript has immediately after Mael Muire three names which, as we have already

¹ Or possibly a correction in L of the note in B.

² Commented on pp. 339, 345.

³ See p. 347.

⁴ See p. 350 f.

⁵ St. Bernard, *Vita S. Malachiae*, § 7.

suggested, probably stood in the same position in the diptychs.¹ If this is correct, we have in O the end of the List exactly as it appeared in the autograph, so far as the names are concerned. Thus the original List of coarbs ended with Mael Muire. When in the other copies additional names of coarbs were added, the names of the three who were not coarbs would be omitted, as they are in LYB. But if the original List ended with Mael Muire, there can be little doubt that it was compiled during the incumbency of Amalgaid, between 1020 and 1049. Between 1020 and 1120 the practice of reciting the diptychs probably ceased.

There is no need to say much about the fourth section of the List (nos. 57-62). It does not rest on the authority of the diptychs—a remark, as we now know, which might be made with equal truth of the latter part of the third section (nos. 51-56). Our only authorities for it are the MSS. L and Y, the latter of which gives us no more than three names. But those facts rather enhance than diminish its worth. In L the last name is certainly a later addition; and it is not improbable that from Cellach onwards the name of each archbishop was written during his period of office.² If so, this portion of L is an autograph contemporary record; and, for that reason, much more valuable, as far as it extends, than the Annals of the Four Masters, the only chronicle which covers the whole period—of greater value indeed than the more trustworthy Annals which are available at its beginning and end. Y, too, has special value. In one sense, indeed, it is not contemporary, for it is the work of a fourteenth-century scribe. But the exemplar from which the List in it was ultimately, or perhaps immediately, derived was probably written in the time of the last coarb whom it mentions, Gilla Meic Liac, i.e. not long after 1137. The scribe of the exemplar was therefore a contemporary of Muirchertach († 1134) and Mael Maedhóc († 1148), and may have had first-hand knowledge of the important and stirring events of the years 1129-1137.

The period of three years which Y assigns to Muirchertach (no. 57) is reckoned from the death of Cellach (1129) to the year 1132, in which, as the Four Masters tell us, Mael Maedhóc “sat in the chair of Patrick.” The two following years, during which, according to St. Bernard,³ Muirchertach remained in Armagh, while Mael Maedhóc administered his office outside the city, are regarded as part of Mael Maedhóc’s incumbency. L, on the other hand, disagreeing with St. Bernard, the Annals, and Y, omits Muirchertach. The scribe was plainly a partisan of Mael Maedhóc.

¹ See. p. 333.

² See below, p. 358.

³ *Vita S. Malachiae*, § 21. Y differs from St. Bernard (§ 20) in making Muirchertach’s term of office three instead of five years.

Niall, whom the Masters state to have succeeded Mael Maedhóc in 1134, is ignored both in L. and Y; and Gilla Meic Liac is represented as the immediate successor of Mael Maedhóc, in harmony with St. Bernard's statement,¹ though the Masters inform us that Mael Maedhóc resigned the see in 1136, leaving Niall in possession, and that Gilla Meic Liac succeeded Niall in 1137. In short, the List gives its support throughout to St. Bernard's narrative against that of the Four Masters.²

It will be noticed that Y gives Mael Maedhóc the surname Húa Mongair. This form is found also in the Annals of Tigernach and elsewhere. But the testimony of L seems decisive for the accepted spelling of the name, Hua Morgair.

There was apparently a contest for the archbishopric after the death of Gilla Meic Liac (no. 59). The Anglo-Normans regarded Gilla-in-Choimded (no. 61), whom they call Gillebertus or Gilbertus, as his immediate successor.³ The Annals of Ulster, however, record the death of Conchobar, better known as St. Concors, in 1175, describing him as coarb of Patrick. He may have been elected archbishop, and have gone to the Curia to obtain papal confirmation, for there is apparently no doubt that he died at Lemens, near Chambery, in Savoy, on his return journey from Rome.⁴ But the omission of his name from L is good evidence that he never held the see.

The List gives "the bishop Húa Muredaig" as the successor of Gilla Meic Liac, no doubt rightly. But he must have retired after a short tenure of office; for he is to be identified with Amhlaimh húa Muirethaigh, who died in 1185. From the Annals of Ulster under that year we gather that after his resignation he became bishop of Cinel Feradhaigh (barony of Clogher, county Tyrone).⁵

¹ *Ib.*, § 31.

² For the unsatisfactory character of the narrative of the Four Masters, see H. J. Lawlor, *St. Malachy of Armagh*, Additional Note C.

³ *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, i, 141; ii, 274.

⁴ *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. i, p. 412 ff. The obit in the Annals of Ulster is omitted in two mss. O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Concors* (*Lives of Irish Saints*, vol. vi, p. 96 ff.) has no historical value.

⁵ There is considerable confusion about this bishop. The Annals of Boyle and the Annals of Loch Cé have the entry under 1185, 'Amhlaibh húa Muiredaigh, bishop of Cenel Eoghain, quieuit.' But under 1186 in the latter we find a notice of him almost identical with that quoted from the Annals of Ulster on p. 332. It is possible, therefore, that he was bishop of Cinel Eoghain (i.e. the diocese of Derry); and there is a gap in the succession of the bishops of that diocese from 1173 to 1184 or 1185, in which Ware places him, identifying his successor Fogartach O Cerballain with Florence O Cerballain, who was bishop from 1184-5 to 1230. But is Fogartach ever latinized as Florentius? If Amhlaimh became bishop of Derry in 1173, he may have been promoted to Armagh in 1174, and after a short stay there have returned to his original see.

The List omits Mael Ísu húa Cerbaill, who is said in the Annals of Ulster to have been elected coarb on the resignation of Tommaltach (no. 62) in 1184. But the same Annals (ms. A) in the record of his obit (1187) describe him as bishop of Airghialla. The fact seems to be that while he was bishop of Airghialla (now the diocese of Clogher) he was elected to the Primacy, went to Rome for confirmation, and died soon after his return.¹ That Tommaltach resigned in 1184 is very unlikely, for he was archbishop till his death in 1201. It is more probable that there was a contest between him and Mael Ísu, which was decided in 1184 or later. It is possible that Tommaltach's name was added to the List before this litigation began.

APPENDIX.

THE LIST OF COARBS IN THE BOOK OF LEINSTER.

The list of coarbs preserved in the Book of Leinster occupies the last two columns of fol. 21 v (Facs., p. 42). The opening column is perfectly legible, and offers no difficulty. The discoloration referred to above (p. 316) extends over most of the last column. Further, the membrane is badly rubbed and creased in places, particularly down the margin; towards the end the surface is polished, but much defaced. The work of decipherment is thus rendered extremely difficult, much patience and repeated examination of the MS. in good light being necessary to confirm a reading. The best results have been obtained by the use of a reflecting mirror, recommended by Dr. Gilbert Smyly, who very kindly examined some of the passages with us. For the more obscure portions the evidence available is (1) O'Curry's transcript of fol. 1-79 of the Book of Leinster, preserved in the Library of Trinity College (Class mark L. 5. 20)²; (2) Todd's rendering of 1864

¹ Compare the Register of the Diocese of Clogher in the *Louth Archaeological Journal*, vol. iv, p. 239. From the Register it is clear that he did not become bishop till after the death of Aedh O'Cellaigh in 1182 (Annals of Loch Cé).

² In Dr. Abbott's Catalogue (no. 1428) it is erroneously described as a copy of *Leabhar na hUidhri*. We had in vain looked for such a transcript in the various Dublin collections, and are indebted to Mr. E. J. Gwynn for calling our attention to it, at the last moment, when about to go to press. An earlier acquaintance with it would have saved us much labour. Agreement in several minor errors and omissions makes it clear that it was on this transcript of O'Curry's that Todd based his version above referred to. The critical notes have had to be revised accordingly. The transcript (water-mark 1850) is executed in O'Curry's best style, with illuminated capitals. It is a pity he did not live to complete it, for it appears to be more accurate than O'Longan's Facsimile, and would have been a valuable aid in deciphering what is obscure in the original MS. It was probably made for the use of Dr. Todd, and is the volume described under no. 1456 in his Sale Catalogue, 1869: "*Leabhar-na-H-Uidhri*, a transcript by Eugene O'Curry from the original in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, fol." Hence Dr. Abbott's error.

(*Life of St. Patrick*, 180 ff.) ; (8) O'Longan's Facsimile transcript of the MS., 1880. Stokes's edition in the *Trip. Life*, p. 542 ff., having been made from the Facsimile, as already remarked, has no independent value. In addition to these, confirmation of illegible words can occasionally be obtained from the Annals. Indeed without these aids decipherment would be in some cases almost impossible. If the errors of the Facsimile are indicated in the foot-notes, it is solely to prevent possible misunderstanding as to a choice of reading.

The traditional date of the Book of Leinster being about 1160, it is obvious that our list, extending to 1181, the date of Tommaltach's accession, was not all written in at one time. Dr. Todd was of opinion that the later hand began after Cellach († 1129). It is difficult to compare characteristic letter-forms in this portion, owing to the defaced state of the MS., but a new hand may safely be admitted, and we think a still later for the final entry.¹ It is noteworthy that the years of incumbency are not given after Domnall, further that a line has been left blank after Cellach and again after Mael Maedóc, from which it might be inferred that the entries were made in their life-time. The Laud list (O) ending with Mael Maire († 1020), it would almost seem as if the group Amalgaid to Cellach was written *d'un seul jet*, in the time of Cellach ; the accidental omission of Mael Ísu in the first instance would tend to confirm this, also the fact that the parentage of the coarbs is not given in this group. A line has been left blank also after Gilla Chomded. Viewing the column as a whole, it is observable that the writing is not quite uniform. With Ainmere (l. 18) the hand becomes more upright and less cramped, this feature being fairly well reproduced in the Facsimile. It would thus appear as if the original list had been resumed here. The initial letters, however, with their dabs of colour, seem to be pretty uniform throughout : but the colour may have been added later.

The critical marks employed in this edition are angular brackets < > for interlineal and marginal entries ; parentheses () for illegible but attested letters ; and square brackets [] for wholly illegible or uncertain letters.

¹ In the *Breviarium*, fol. 13 v (Facs., p. 26), published by Todd (*loc. cit.* 184 ff.) and by Stokes (*Trip. Life*, 512 ff.), Mr. Lucius Gwynn has drawn attention to similar additions carrying the entries down to 1199 (*Erin* viii. 114 ff.).

Comarbada Patraic.

(LL. fol. 21 v^o, col. c.)

Patraic .iuiii. o thuidecht Patraic i
nHerinn co eistecht.

Sechnall mac Restituit <.xiii.>

Sen-Patraic .ii.

Benen mac Sescnen .x.

Iarlaithe mac Trena .xiiii. o Chluain
Fiacla.

Cormac .xii. primus abbas de chlaind
Chernaig.

Dubthach .xiii.

Ailíll .xiii. primus.

Ailíll .x. secundus. ó Druim Chád i
nHuib Bressail don da Ailíll.

Duach .xii. de Huib Turtri.

Fiachra <.x.> mac Colmain meic
Eogain a hEnuch Senmáil.

Feidilmid .xu. hua Faelain o Domnuch
Nemand.

Caurlan .iiii. o Domnuch meic hu
Garba dÚib Níallain.

Eochaid mac Diarmata <.iii.> o Dom-
nuch Rigdruing.

Senach Garb <.xiii.> o Chluain hui
meic Griceí de Uib Níallain, edón¹
gobai i ngraid o Chill Móir.²

Mac Laisre .xuiii.

Tómmine .lxxxiii.

Segini <.xxuii.> mac Bresail o Achud
Chlaidib.

Forannan .i.

Fland Febla mac Scanlain hua Fíngin
<.xxuii.>

Suibne <.xu.> mac Crunnmael meic
Ronain dUib Níallain.

Congus <.xx.> scribnid. unde torad
penne Congusa, edón³ hui Dasluaiga
<edón mensa> meic Ainmereich a
Cuil Athgoirt.

Céle Petair <.uiii.> o Druim Chetna i
nHuib Bresail.

Fer da Chrích .x.

Cu Dinise <.iiii.> mac Concais hui
Chathbath meic Echach.

Dub da Lethe mac Sinaig .xuiii.

Airectac <.i. bliadain> hua Faeláin
dUib Bresail.

Faennelach <.iii.> mac Moenaig Man-
nacta is e docer la Dub da Lethi oc
Rus Bodba, unde dicitur.

† Faendelach aness
is é a less. teclaim sluaig
Dub da Lethi mac Sinaig
do fail⁴ co rigaib a tuáid.

Condmach <.xiii.⁵> mac Duib da Lethi
is e sin in mac i ndiaid a athar, ut
prophetauit Bec mac De.

(col. d.)

Artrí <.ii.> Is é rachoid martra ó
Eogan 7 ó Niall 7 ó Suibni mac
Sarnig.⁶

Eogan Manistrech .uiii. Eogan mac
Anbthig comarba Patraic 7 Finniain.
7 Buite. anmchára Neill Glunduib.
Trí aircinnig sunna ragabsat ab-
daine ar ecin nach armiter i n-of-
friund edón Fland Rói mac Cummas-
caig. meic Conchobair ro éig assin
charpat. et Gormgal mac Indnotaig.^{6a}

Forannan .xuii. <mac Murgili. Mur-
gel nomen matris eius.>⁷

Dermaí <.iiii.> hua Tigernain Is
leis daratad⁸ in t-anart etir na gae⁹
ac¹⁰ Croiss Ardachaid 7 in t-imaire
lossa 7 nír¹¹ rathcha coro lobsat ar
met a sm(a)chta.¹²

Fethgna .xxu. edón Fíglech¹³ mac Nec-
tain de claind Echdach.

Ainmere <.i. bliadain. hua Faelain.>
iserígi¹⁴ hua Níallain 7 sacerdoti
Aird Macha.

Mael Coba <.u.¹⁵ bliadain.> mac
Crundm(ael)¹⁶ de muntir Cilli Moire.

Comarbada Patraic.

Cathassach mac Rabartaich¹⁷ [. . .]¹⁸
 hui Móinaich¹⁹ de chlaid Shuibni.
 marb na ailithe i nInis²⁰ [. . .]

Mael Brigti mac Tornain .xxxi(x).²¹
 comarba Patraic 7 Coluim Chille de
 chlaid Chona[. . .]²² edón na hoent-
 ad.²³

Ioseph .ix. mac Fathaig de claid
 [] b²⁴ Gaelta di Dál Riattai.²⁵

Mael Patraic <.i. bliadain.> mac
 Mail(i) Tuli .h.(?) []²⁶

Cathassach <.xx.> mac Doligen²⁷ hui
 Eog [. . .]²⁸

Muridaich <.ix.> mac Fergusa o
 Gl(inn)²⁹ Airind i Sleib Cul[. . .]³⁰

Dub da Lethi mac Cellaich .xxx(ii)i.
 Deolaid³¹ ingen Maeli Tuli³² .m. se(?)
 [] o Inis Cain Dega mathair Duib
 d(a) L(ethi).³³

Murican <.iii.> mac Ciaracain o
 Boith³⁴ Domnaig.

Mael Maire <.xix.> mac Eochacain.

Amalgaid .xxix.

Dub da Lethi³⁵ .xii.

Cummascach .iii.³⁶

Mael Is(u) .xxu[]³⁷

Domnall .xiii.

Cellach.

Mael Maedoc³⁸ hua Morgair.

Gilla Meic Liac edón mac ind fír dana.³⁹

In t-epscoḡ hua Mu(ri)daig.⁴⁰

Gilla Chomd(e)d hua Carain.⁴¹

Tommaltach mac Aeda⁴² meic Tairdel-
 baig hui Chonchobair.

NOTES.

¹ The siglum .i. = id est is here and elsewhere extended *edón* to avoid confusion with the numeral.

² This line is written over Mac Laisre rather, as noticed by Todd; but Senach's epithet *Garb* 'Rough,' would not be inappropriate to an ex-smith.

³ .i. is unusually tall, more like *l*, and has three dots alongside, cp. Facs. We are unable to identify *Da Sluaig* (*sic leg.*) m. Ainmerech. The gloss *i.e. mensa* is obscure. Could *mensa* here have any bearing upon the obscure *Uddmensa* of the Kilmarrann ogham: *Uddmensa celi Nettaslogi* (Macalister, Notes on certain Irish Inscriptions, R.I.A. Proc., C, xxxiii, 82 ff.)? *Da Sluaig* is a by-form of *Nad Sluaig*. The *Húi Nadsluaga* were one of the five *primthiatha* of Dál mBuinne (east of Lough Neagh, in Co. Antrim). See Book of Lecan, 268^a, Book of Ballymote, 163^b, where *h. Nadsluagdu* alternates in the same passage with our form *h. Dasluaga*; cp. also Book of Lecan, 286^a, *h. Dasluaga*. This is probably the family of Congus. We owe the reference to Dr. Bergin. See also Hogan's *Onomasticon*, p. 331. *m. Nasluag* occurs LL., p. 338c.

⁴ *sail*, Facs., and perhaps MS., the scribe having omitted the tongue of the *f*.

⁶ .xiii. Facs.

⁶ leg. Farnig.

^{6a} *Indnotaig*, *sic* O'C., Facs. *Indnataig*, M.S. ambiguous.

⁷ *mur*[] Facs., final *l* is just legible; *nomen* and *eius*, read by O'Curry, are still traceable.

⁸ *Is he dar*, Facs., end of line. The sense requires *leis*, which can be read. The letter following *d* is not clear, looks more like *a*, *do*, O'C.

⁹ The stroke over *gae* in Facs. should be deleted.

¹⁰ *ic*, O'C.

¹¹ *nir*. Facs., *mur*- O'C. ; the line ends here rubbed and indistinct. Todd renders O'Curry's *murrathcha* as 'the parsneps' ; d.sg *murrathaig* occurs, Féil.² 88, MacCongl. 124, 19 'sea-fern' (?). We read *nir*, however, and Dr. Bergin, who has kindly examined the passage, thinks a verb is required.

¹² [*s*] [*ch*], Facs., *smachta*, O'C. *sm*()*chta* can be deciphered. The passage should be rendered: 'It is by him the linen sheet was placed between the spears at Ardagh Cross and the ridge of leeks, and they did not . . . (?) so that they decayed owing to the greatness of its power.' Todd found the passage obscure. But the allusion is doubtless to the linen winding sheet with Christ's blood thereon, *anart co fuil Crist fair* (Trip. Life, 474 ; 7 *co folt Muiri Ingeine* (Rawl.) 'and with the hair of Mary the Virgin,' ib. 238) *sacratissimus sanguis Iesu Christi, Redemptoris humani generis, in sacri lintiamine* (Lib. Arm., f. 21 a), said to have been brought by St. Patrick from Rome, and one of the greater treasures of the church of Armagh. It was usual for the coarb to carry these precious relics about with him when enforcing the Law of Patrick, cp. Ann. of Ulster 733, 1196. On this occasion the tribute was evidently refused, and the coarb revenged himself by blighting the crops. The dues were known for a long time as Patrick's Ridges, as to which see King's *Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, p. 31 f.

¹³ *Seiginech*, Facs.

¹⁴ *iii. rigi*, Facs., looks like *ise*, but meaning obscure ; *ise*, O'C. Todd's rendering 'He was sovereign of the Niallain,' is grammatically impossible. Stokes has '... kingship of the Hui N.' Something has apparently been dropped. According to the Four Masters Ainmere was thirty years a priest before his election.

¹⁵ *ii. Facs.*, *u*. O'C. *et rel.* MS. rather dubious.

¹⁶ *aél* lost in a rent of the MS., but top of *l* preserved ; *ail*, O'C.

¹⁷ *sic* O'C., *Rabartaig*, Facs. MS. rubbed.

¹⁸ *iiii. O'C.*, *om.* Facs., MS. now wholly effaced.

¹⁹ *mbinaich deth* [], Facs., but *chlaind* can be traced.

²⁰ *i nInis* legible, though omitted, without brackets, in Facs., read by O'Curry ; remainder rubbed.

²¹ final *x* barely legible.

²² 7 *Brigti*, Facs., *de cl*-, O'C. ; *de chl*- can be traced in good light, and also, with some patience, *Chona* [] leg. *Chonaill*, Mael Brigitte being of the Clann Conaill Gulban.

²³ Facs. reads *dona hoe* [] ; *na* is certain, but the preceding letter, though somewhat obscure, is undoubtedly *i*., and so O'Curry read *i. na ho*, with *ss ud* tentatively added in pencil, 'i.e. of the O . . . ' Todd. The two letters after *hoe* appear to be *ut*, but final *ad* is pretty certain. Read perhaps *edón na hoentad*, 'i.e. of the union.'

²⁴ *Fa* [], Facs., but *thaig*, though somewhat rubbed, is pretty certain, also *de cl* . . *b*, *d*, with *e* ligatured at top ; *Fathaig de cl*- *ro*-, O'C. ; for *ro* leg. *Gairb*, MS. rubbed and illegible. Before *Gaelta* Facs. has *o* = *con*, which is not in MS. 'Of the Clann . . . -gaeta (*sic*) of the Dalriattai,' Todd. A pedigree of Síl Gairb Gaela is given in BB. 114 f.

²⁵ *Riatta*, Facs.

²⁶ MS. very effaced here. *om.* Facs., *Mailitule*, O'C., and so Annals. *Mail*() can be traced, *t* and *u* indistinct, *li* fairly certain, but followed by what looks like *li*, perhaps *h*. [] *a* [], the clann name being illegible, though traces of letters discernible.

²⁷ *Maeliduin*, Facs.

²⁸ *h.E* [], Facs., *om.* O'C., Todd ; *Eog* can be read, *o* somewhat obscure ; probably *Eogain*.

²⁹ *o Gl* is traceable, read *Glinn* ; *o Gl*-, O'C.

³⁰ This line has been badly misread by the Facsimilist as *m. indashuaga*, though *airind* is perfectly clear. *i sleib* read by O'C. is traceable, and with the aid of the Annals, *cúl* : *n*, i.e. Slieve Gullion, can be made out in good light.

- ³¹ *Deolait*, Facs. *Deolaid*, O'C., Todd.
- ³² *maeliculi*, Facs., with the following line unattempted; *mac*, read by O'C. is still legible, followed apparently by *se* (?) . . at end of line on a rubbed surface.
- ³³ read by O'C., but now almost wholly illegible.
- ³⁴ *both*, O'C.
- ³⁵ very faint, and *xii.* might be *xu.*
- ³⁶ *iii.* barely traceable, *m.* Facs.
- ³⁷ *Maelisu* is on the same line as *Cummascach*, having been omitted at first. It is very effaced, and quite escaped the notice of O'Curry and Todd. The Facsimilist left it unread; *x[]*, Facs., *xxiii*, Y, B.
- ³⁸ *Maedach*, Facs. *Maedóc*, O'C.
- ³⁹ *dala*, Facs.
- ⁴⁰ *m[]*. Facs. *Muridaig*, O'C.
- ⁴¹ *Gilla Chomd* [], Facs., *Gilla chomdad hua Carain*, O'C. MS. very effaced here. *Gilla* in *Coimded húa Carán*, AU, L.Cé.
- ⁴² *Alla*, Facs.

NOTES ADDED IN PRESS.

- P. 321. *Flann Febla*. 'Bishop Aed abode in Slébte. He went to Armagh. He brought a bequest (*edoct*) to Segéne of Armagh. Segéne gave again a bequest to Aed, and Aed offered a bequest and his kindred and his church to Patrick till Doom. And Aed left a bequest with Conchad. Conchad went to Armagh, and Fland Feblae gave his church to him, and he took himself (as) abbot.' *Lib. Armach.*, f. 18b (*Thes. Pal.* ii. 242; Stokes, *Trip. Life*, i. 347; *Facs. National MSS. of I. i.* pl. 27).
- P. 325. *Dermait húa Tigernáin*, coarb of Patrick, he it is who added these four quatrains, or it is the quatrain of Patrick and Brigit *tantum fuit*. *Lib. Hymn.*, scholiast's note on Colman's Hymn. (*Thes. Pal.* ii. 305; ed. Atkinson, i. 30, ii. 121, where *húa Tigernain* is wrongly printed *nati German*, 'son of German.')
- P. 327. *Mael Brigitte mac Tornáin*. The 9-10th cent. Gospels of Mac Durnan (Lambeth Library) are associated with him, fol. 8v (Westwood, *Palaeogr. Sacra*, pl. 13; Todd, *R.I.A. Proc.* i. 40; *Facs. Nat. MSS. of I. i.* p. xviii).
- P. 330. *Domnall*. "A prayer . . . for Domnall, coarb of Patrick, by whom it was made . . ." Inscription on the shrine of St. Patrick's Bell, in R.I.A. Collection (Coffey, *Guide*, p. 49).
- P. 338. *Dub dá Lethe*. The *Saltair na Rann* was composed during his incumbency. (Ed. Stokes, ll. 2361-4.)

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